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BISHOP BUTLER AND HIS CENSORS.

BY THE RT. HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

From *The Nineteenth Century* (London), November, 1895.

I.

UNTIL the present century, and indeed until more than half of it had passed away, Butler, as represented in his most conspicuous production, had no censors; that is to say, none of any note, none who were themselves entitled to be noticed. His works, both before and after they had been published collectively in Oxford and in London, were received, as they issued in successive editions from the press, with an almost unbroken concert of applause. During the second portion of the century, while it does not appear that their circulation has declined, and we cannot affirm that their hold on the confidence of the Christian world has diminished, various writers of ability and even eminence have pointed out what they considered to be flaws in these remarkable productions; while some among them, without denying the great powers and high moral as well as philosophic rank of the author, have taken objection—mostly, but not exclusively, in the case of the *Analogy*—to some of his main positions, or even to the general scope of his argument.

I propose to undertake a close examination of the criticisms of four writers who form or belong to the last-named class, and to take them in their chronological order. These are Mr. Bagehot (1854), Miss S. S.

Hennell * (1859), Mr. Leslie Stephen (1876), and Mr. Matthew Arnold (1877). Of these one—namely, Miss Hennell—incorporates an important criticism by Dr. Martineau, which was first published about 1840, and which may in no vulgar sense be said to have been in the van of the attack.

There have been other comments in the nature of censure, sometimes accompanied by preponderating praise. Among these are Mr. Maurice, Mr. Mark Pattison, and Mr. Goldwin Smith. But these comments are on specific points, and have not been carried into detail.

And, lastly, I have thought it right not to omit reference to the comments of a class of writers who, adopting uniformly a kindly tone, have expressed their regret that the works of Bishop Butler should, as in their judgment they do, fall, in sentiment or phraseology, beneath the true evangelical standard.

I. MR. BAGEHOT.

In his essay † on Butler, which I do not regard as one of the best specimens of his literary handiwork, Mr. Bagehot refers, in terms which appear to be far too disparaging, to style. 'In some places the mode of statement is even stupid;' and 'it is curious that so great a thinker should be so poor a writer.' Plato, he thinks, saw the truth; Butler groped for it. It was not difficult for Plato to see a truth, which in the main he moulded at his pleasure; but if Butler did but grope, his case was not wholly different from that of Saint Paul, who only saw through a glass darkly. Plato's *assise* was of and on the earth; Butler had all along to bind together earth and heaven. Mr. Bagehot's criticism ‡ strikes also at Aristotle, who, like Butler, worked in rigid subserviency to facts, and not as master over them. The style of Butler, too, has been made largely responsible for the difficulties of his

* A member of a family of distinguished talents, which is known to have exercised a powerful influence on the mind and career of George Eliot.

† *Literary Studies*, vol. ii. essay ii. pp. 74, 75.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 76.

subject ; * but those who might rewrite one of his pages would find it more difficult than they may suppose to improve the style without impairing the substance. In his illustrations Butler is particularly happy ; and, upon the whole, in his case, and also in that of Aristotle, it may be that the style and the substance are inseparable.

Taking it at large, I think the following passage, extracted from the very able preface of the late Bishop Steere to his edition of the *Analogy*, presents no unjust view of the question of Bishop Butler's style :

In truth, the greatest beauty of an author's style consists in its appropriateness to express his meaning. There is a rough likeness between the style of the *Analogy* and that of a legal document ; and it goes deeper than might have been expected. For what makes a deed obscure to the uninitiated ? Chiefly the attempt on the part of the framer to exclude all ambiguity. It looks like irony, but it is true, that no written thing, when examined, is clearer than a legal document ; and the object, the attained object, of all those obscure phrases is to avoid the possibility of being misunderstood. Therefore it is that the more one examines into possible meanings of what seemed clearer (*sic*) expressions, the more we shall realise and admire the sound judgment which has preferred what we, at first sight, thought ill-chosen and obscure. Thus it is that careful students of Butler's works generally come, in the end, to have a sort of relish for his peculiar style.†

Granted fully that Butler's style is difficult. But it does not in any degree follow that it is, properly speaking, obscure.

It is needless to dwell on the judgment of Mr. Bagehot concerning the great argument of Conscience in the Sermons ; for it is in a strain of nearly unbroken approval. But, when we come to the *Analogy*, Mr. Bagehot propounds grave objections to its reasoning.

Firstly, he denies it to have been ' probable ' that Revelation would contain difficulties of a like kind with Nature, and subjoins, ' we should have expected that

* One, however, of Butler's editors has had the courage to undertake the reformation of his style. See *Bishop Butler's Treatise on the Analogy of Religion to the Constitution and Course of Nature ; with a Summary of the Argument, and the Style in some parts simplified.* By the Rev. Edward Bushby, D.D., Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge. London, 1842.

† *Butler's Analogy*, with analytical preface and index, by the late Right Rev. Edward Steere, LL.D., Bishop in Central Africa. London, Bell, 1886, page v.

it would explain those difficulties.* The rational likelihood was that the Revelation 'would be one affecting our daily life and welfare; would communicate truths either on the one hand conducing to our temporal happiness in the present world, or removing the many doubts and difficulties, which surround the general plan of Providence, the entire universe, and our particular destiny.'

There is no doubt that this objection strikes at the very heart of the *Analogy*. If the objection stands, the Treatise must fall. On the other hand, every reviewer of Mr. Bagehot's works must feel how cautiously he ought to deal with the views and arguments of a writer who is not less modest than he is able and acute, and who himself deals so tenderly with all that appertains to the religious belief of his fellow-Christians, and regards it with so deep and genuine an interest.

I must nevertheless express a conviction that Mr. Bagehot mistakes the seat of the evil, which he does not fail to see. No doubt we are entitled, and indeed bound, to anticipate that a Divine Revelation will be aimed at the heart of a great mischief, and will be designed and adapted to remove it. But the case of human nature is not a case of mere difficulty; it is a case of disease; and the mischief lies not in the darkness of the understanding, but in the perversion of the Will. Darkened without doubt the understanding is, but darkened by those fumes of passion which rise so thickly from the furnace of our desires. These cloud the atmosphere within us and thicken what ought to be a translucent medium, to convey the authoritative sentences of conscience. Had want of knowledge been the capital difficulty of our state, fishermen would not have been the chief ministers of the Gospel, nor would babes and sucklings have perfected its praise. Not from an upper chamber in Jerusalem, not from the stable, offering to the Redeemer of the world the shelter denied him by the inn, but rather from Pnyx and Theatre, from Portico and Academe of Athens, would the notes of salvation have been sounded forth.

* *Literary Studies*, vol. ii. essay ii. pp. 86, 87.

If we proceed upon the narrative of Genesis, it was not for want of knowledge that mankind fell from a peaceful into a troubled existence, but from the unauthorised and premature pursuit of it. If Butler is right in referring for the origin of what he terms natural religion to a primitive revelation, yet the historic traces of that revelation became with the lapse of years faint and imperceptible. There were indeed times, such for instance as the Achaian period described by Homer, when belief in a divine government of the world was still sustained, and the foundations of right and duty still remained visible, in virtue of the law written in the heart. Generations passed away, and knowledge increased in the world ; and, together with this increase of knowledge, the conditions of social order came to be better understood ; but in other respects virtue diminished, and the idea of sin, except among the Jews, was virtually lost.

Mr. Bagehot rightly observes that the argument of Butler is one dealing with our religious difficulties : and ' this is the exact class of difficulty which it is most likely a revelation if given would explain.'* But the view of Butler is so different that his critic will be found here to challenge one of his main positions. As his teaching runs, there is no absurdity in supposing that the speculative difficulties, in which the evidence of religion is involved, may constitute even the principal part of some persons' trial. The generality have to contend with more vulgar temptations ; but ' there are persons of a higher stamp, without this shallowness of temper, persons endowed with a deeper sense of what is invisible and future.' Had such persons no doubts to contend with, the practice of religion would be to them, as Butler thinks, unavoidable ; and at least it seems clear that they would stand in no such need of effort as to brace the mind and train the character in the manner of what we term a discipline ; which discipline nevertheless may be very needful for their perfection.† Objections to the truths of Christianity,

* *Literary Studies*, vol ii. essay ii. p. 87.

† *Analogy*, Part II. ch. vi. s. 18.

apart from its evidence, Butler holds to be mostly frivolous : and it may be presumed that had he thought them worthy of more consideration he would have treated them as he has treated objections to the evidence.

With his habitual sincerity, Mr. Bagehot falls back upon first principles ; and holds that ' the supposition and idea of a miraculous revelation rest on the ignorance of man : ' and that God, if He should speak, ' would shed abundant light on all doubts, would take the weight from our minds, would remove the gnawing anguish from our hearts.'* He anticipates, however, a form of reply to his argument. It is that there may be facts impossible for us at present to appreciate, but most important for us to know. His answer is that there is no advantage in the revelation of an inexplicable fact : that such a revelation is extremely improbable : that the revelation we might properly expect is one throwing light on the world in which we live ; and in which ' poverty and sin, pain and sorrow, fear and anger, press on us with a heavy weight.'† But this, as Butler truly teaches, is asking to be acquainted with the whole counsel of Providence : a task which he renounces, finding that he undertakes enough in endeavouring, not to explain the conduct of the Almighty, but to point out to man his duty.‡

Mr. Bagehot thinks also that a revelation of rites and ordinances, as compared with duties, is antecedently most improbable. But, in this large and sweeping proposition, does he not forget the exigencies of our complex and compound nature ? It would be strange, without doubt, if external prescriptions were to form the substance or main bulk of a revelation. But it may seem that a revelation may naturally comprehend what provides for the discipline of the body ; what corresponds with the large office of the senses in the business of human life ; and even what satisfies the imagination. The lofty doctrine of the Gospel, which consecrates the body as an inseparable portion of our

* *Literary Studies*, vol. ii. essay ii. p. 88.

† *Ibid.* pp. 88, 89.

‡ *Analogy*, Part II. ch. viii. s. 10.

nature, and at the same time propounds our reunion with the Divine Nature in the person of the Redeemer, as the one thing needful, shows that there is here an unfilled gap in the teaching of Mr. Bagehot which deals with us as pure intelligences; and justify Bishop Butler when he teaches that the exterior part of Christianity belongs to its essence.*

Mr. Bagehot contends† that the argument of the *Analogy* 'may be used in the defence of any revelation, the Mahommedan as well as the Christian;' and it has appeared to some that herein lies an objection to the Treatise. But let us suppose, though the supposition may be an extreme one, the case of a Mahommedan philosopher arguing, as Butler has argued in his first Part, and substituting in a second Part the Koran for the Gospel, each of them as illustrated by the course of history; suppose that he could establish the claim of his religion to a serious examination: such a claim, on such a basis, constitutes no objection to the argument of Butler. The Koran then presents itself, according to Butler's method, at the bar of reason for scrutiny: inasmuch as reason is the judge both of the proofs of the religion, and even of its character. When the proofs of the Gospel are opened, we find that it alleges, taken roughly: (1) Prophecy, (2) Miracle, (3) History, (4) Moral adaptation. And of these the first two appear especially to have been vital to its first acceptance. But when we turn to Mahommedanism, these two great subjects are presented to us as an absolute blank. If we come to the third, we find anterior history in the narrative of the Old Testament leading up to Christianity, but having no point of contact whatever with Mahommedanism. If we pass to posterior records, we find that the history of Christianity, down to the time when it had conclusively established its hold on the greatest races and ruling intellects of the world, was a history of suasion. But the history of Mahommedanism, as a religion systematically propagated by violence and bloodshed, seems to renounce

* *Analogy*, Part II. ch. i. s. 19.

† *Literary Studies*, vol. ii. essay ii. p. 90.

the appeal to reasoning altogether, and to make the whole inquiry ridiculous. It is hardly necessary after this to enter on the question of moral adaptation, or an efficacious remedy for the disease of human nature. Perhaps from this brief review we may sufficiently judge what is the practical upshot of Butler's argument when applied to religions other than the Gospel. And this without our being bound to deny that the Mahomedan and other religions may, in virtue of such elements of truth as they contain, have acted for special purposes, and may still operate upon humble and simple souls, in conjunction with purely natural affections, for purposes of real good. It is but too easy to show, on the one hand, how the results of Christianity are intercepted and marred by the corruption of nature : and we should not really mend our own case by grudging to those who live under other systems every acknowledgment that truth demands. If it be the fact, then, that Butler's argument is available for religions other than our own, it can only be made available for them in so far as they are true ; just as in the case of Christianity it does nothing to accredit those corruptions which he admits and deplors. In so far as it tends to support such elements of truth as may not have been stifled in other religions, this surely is not a defect, but a recommendation of the reasoning he has employed.

Mr. Bagehot sums up the first chapter of his argument by declaring it to be monstrous that there should be a Divine revelation which enumerates the difficulties of natural government and yet casts no light upon them ; and so, instead of relieving doubt or anxiety, should 'proclaim every fact which can give a base to them both.'* As regards the first of these, it is simply a misconception to suppose that γνώσις and not πρᾶξις was the purpose for which our necessities demanded a provision. As regards the second, it will be more conveniently considered in connection with the objection as it has been taken by another of the censors of Bishop Butler.

* *Literary Studies*, vol. ii. essay ii. p. 90.

Thus far Mr. Bagehot has been clear and explicit in urging his exceptions against the Treatise of Butler. But now he announces * that he has a second objection to the argument of the *Analogy* on which he is inclined to lay nearly equal stress. I must own that I have failed, in this portion of his Essay, to gather his meaning. He nowhere cites a passage from the work; he nowhere even describes one. Instead of this, he cites passages from Professor Rogers,† and perhaps makes good certain points against them; but for Professor Rogers Butler certainly cannot be held responsible. At one moment‡ he seems to admit Butler's argument within certain limits, and allows that the 'style of Providence' would probably be the same in revelation as in nature; but neither here nor elsewhere does he collect evidence from the text. And he somewhat strangely winds up his article by tracing to deficiencies in Butler's mental constitution faults in the Treatise, as to which he does not supply a particle of evidence to exhibit or make good their existence. Those who would either condemn Butler or defend him with effect must be prepared to deal with their subject at much closer quarters.

II. MISS HENNELL.

In 1859, Miss S. S. Hennell widened the ground of the attack by publishing her essay 'On the Sceptical Tendency of Butler's *Analogy*.' Without doubt she begs a very large question in her title; but no critic can surpass her either in reverence or in candour; and she records this judgment upon Butler's position as it has been generally estimated: 'By the main body of Christian believers he is still considered unanswered and unanswerable, strong as a giant against all the puny attacks of infidelity.'§

She considers, indeed, that the Treatise 'engenders a deep spirit of scepticism,' and supplies no principle capable of effectually combating it. But of this anon.

* *Literary Studies*, p. 90.

† *Ibid.*, p. 98.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 95, 96.

§ *Essays*, &c. p. 2.

Following many others, but quite innocently, she quotes a reported remark of Mr. Pitt on Butler's *Analogy*, to the effect that it suggested to him more doubts than it solved. From the eminence of the names concerned, this remark may have circulated widely; but I have never had the means of verifying the statement until within a few days ago, when I found Wilberforce's *Diary* quoted as the source.

The *Life of Wilberforce* was published nearly sixty years ago, and was allowed to run to the inordinate length of five volumes. The public has avenged itself by suffering the book to pass into literary oblivion. I have, however, an original copy, and I will give from it first the statements, and then the authority on which they rest.

In November, 1785, Mr. Wilberforce was much agitated by deep religious convictions, leading to a great elevation in his tone of life. He was in a correspondence with Mr. Pitt, to whom he had not, at the date I have first cited, opened his whole mind. Still it must have contained references to his serious course of thought, for he records under the date 24th of November, the following:—

'Pitt called, and commended Butler's *Analogy*: resolved to write to him, and discover to him what I am occupied about.'

And accordingly on Sunday, the 27th, he read Butler for three quarters of an hour.* He fulfilled his resolution to write to Pitt in very explicit terms. Pitt promptly announced to him his intention to call on the following day.† He came accordingly and pressed on the discussion. As Wilberforce says:—

'He tried to reason me out of my convictions. . . . The fact is that he was so absorbed in politics, that he had never given himself time for due reflection on religion. But amongst other things he declared to me, that Bishop Butler's work raised in his mind more doubts than it had answered.'‡

Considering Butler's extreme candour, nay scrupu-

* *Life of Wilberforce* (Murray, 1838), I. pp. 89, 90.

† *Ibid.*, p. 94.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

losity, in stating the objections to his own case, there is nothing wonderful in this passage, taken by itself : for, if Pitt's mind was not fully prepared, he might be struck with the difficulties of the case more vividly than by the solutions of those difficulties. But we have these curious facts before us. On the 3rd of December (which appears to have been the date), in a conversation controversial though friendly, he condemns the tendency of the very book which he had spontaneously, and not in disputation, recommended to Wilberforce nine days before. This really amounts to a contradiction. But Pitt was a man not likely to contradict himself. How are we to reconcile the two passages ? and are they of equal authority ?

The answer is that they are not. In their Preface, the Editors of the *Life* carefully explain the different sources of the material which they have woven into one continuous narrative ; and they have for the most part, in the body of the work, noticed them at the foot of the page.

The first of these sources was from manuscript books, or detached sheets, in which Mr. Wilberforce was accustomed to note down daily occurrences. These will be found referred to under the head of 'Diary.'

The commendation of Butler is quoted from a series of extracts reaching continuously from the 24th of November, day by day, to the 30th ; and these are apparently among the first fruits of his private 'Diary,' which he began now, 'whilst this struggle was at its height,' with a view to spiritual uses. So the commendation of Butler by Mr. Pitt comes to us (1) at first hand, (2) in a contemporary record.

But the sources of materials are five,* and the fifth is neither contemporary, nor first hand. It represented partly conversations of this venerable man, in part taken down when uttered, but at times never specified, by members of his family. At the dates we have been dealing with, Mr. Wilberforce was twenty-five and a bachelor ; so that all the materials of this class, if written at all, were written (say) at periods

* Preface, pp. v. and ix.

later by from twenty to forty-eight years (he died in 1833). Another portion was supplied by the editors from their own vivid recollections, apparently after his death, when they came to execute their task as biographers. And a third portion was furnished by certain friends. It is to this class of material that the condemnation of Butler belongs; or, as we are informed by a foot-note, to 'conversational memoranda.'*

It appears, then, that the condemnation, on which a good deal of stress has been laid, stands in a category of information which is at best but doubtful; but in this case it comes at once into conflict with another account of a directly opposite tenor, and recorded under circumstances which give it the highest degree of authenticity. In other words, it is not, as it stands, entitled to credit.

The reader will, I am sure, excuse the minuteness of this detail.

It would be unwarrantable to resort to any such plea with a view to excluding Miss Hennell from this arena. Her thoughts on Butler are palpably serious and earnest; and side by side with her ingenuous statement as to the ruling Christian opinion on the subject, we must register the admission that, in one, and possibly in more than one, intelligent and upright critic, Butler leaves a 'permanent feeling of unsatisfactoriness rankling in the mind,' and transfers from himself to his reader 'a sympathetic gloom,' which the great 'intellectual and moral power' of the work heightens into 'a kind of paralysing awe.'† Into the recesses of emotion we cannot penetrate; but it is permitted to deal with arguments; and it is a task of something better than a combative interest to inquire into their reality and weight in the case of Miss Hennell.

Butler, in every instance without exception, reduces his demands upon the antagonist whom he always sees before him to their minimum. There is not in the *Analogy*, from beginning to end, a word of rhetoric, of declamation, of either wilful or neglectful over-state-

* Preface, p. x.

† *Essays*, p. 5.

ment. It is a purely dry light which he seeks to cast upon his theme. He opens a path before us, and the whole purpose of his book is summed up in the word 'ought'; while to this 'ought' there is no other sequel than the words 'to inquire.' For all those whose temperament is warm, whose imagination is lively, this seems but a jejune result; they have spent much labour and much patience in toiling up the steep road of the Treatise itself, and then they find themselves simply introduced into a new field of arduous investigation. They are tired, and demand refreshment; he offers them only a recommencement of work. After a hot and hard day, it seems a scanty wage. It is no wonder if some are disappointed; it is well that so many are not. To my mind, there is no preparation for a satisfactory study of Butler so good as to have been widely conversant with the disappointing character of human affairs. With touching simplicity he says:

'Indeed the unsatisfactory nature of the evidence, with which we are obliged to take up in the daily course of life, is scarce to be expressed.'*

Yet such evidence suffices for those whose one habitual endeavour it is to discern and follow the way of duty. So it comes to this; that the method of guidance given us for practice is one with the method of guidance given us for belief. And of these two, the first is perhaps the very best *προπαιδευσις* for what is to follow it in the *palestra* to which Butler introduces us. So viewing the matter, are we entitled to complain of a 'sceptical tendency' in the *Analogy*?

* *Analogy*, Part II. ch. viii. s. 17.

THE NEW CLERGY.*

II.

BY H. R. HAWEIS.

From The Contemporary Review (London), October, 1895.

IX. IT has been quite truly said that the battle of the immediate future has got to rage, nay, is raging, round the doctrine of the Incarnation, but the strife need be neither long nor bloody; for when the visors are up, the combatants may suddenly discover they have been all the time fighting friends, not foes; the visors that hid them being on the one side obscurity of language, and on the other the imperfect discernment of facts. One of the chief reasons, I verily believe, why good men now will not go into the Church is the absence of any permitted or generally countenanced restatement of the Incarnation. The chief grief and perplexity of thinking men in the Church is the difficulty (not insuperable as I think) of saying anything which sounds at all reasonable about the miraculous Conception; hence the sad spectacle of dullards and hypocrites asseverating, or like Peter almost beginning to curse and to swear, over a proposition that they can neither distinctly formulate, nor understand, nor expound. Inevitable consequence! The laity turn away disgusted, and the cloth goes down mightily in public estimation.

X. The real though unacknowledged fact is that we have in our midst clergy within the Church holding two views of the Incarnation. There are what I may call the Prenatal Infusion clergy and the Postnatal Transfusion clergy. The Prenatalists admit human parentage on one side only. The Postnatalists admit human parentage on both sides, but claim a special and developmental assimilation or inhabitation of Deity, indicated by such words as "growing in grace and knowledge," whilst they confess a supremacy belong-

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ing to the All-Father not capable of delegation, in such words as "My Father is greater than I."

The two views, say the Postnatalists, correspond as far as we can gather to what was held respectively by the early Christians during the lifetime of our Lord and by the Church towards the close of the first century. The Postnatalists argue, that the beautiful Psalms attributed to the Virgin and Elizabeth (after the custom of the time, which celebrated all solemn occasions with this kind of edifying literature), together with the details of the miraculous Conception, are many years posterior to the life of Christ, and probably arose after the death of the Virgin, about whom we know next to nothing; that they are not contemporaneously connected with her, or if they were derived from her, they may have been due to a dream similar to that of Joseph, her reputed husband. The dream theory is obviously capable of covering a good deal, "warned in a dream," &c. That before Jesus emerged, or until thirty years after His birth, little or nothing was known about Him or His family; that He was so generally "supposed to be the son of Joseph," that when He did emerge both Mark and Matthew and Luke, inconsistently following the fragment of earlier tradition before the miraculous Conception had been heard of, trace His descent through Joseph, "the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus," Matt. i. 16, to David, which if Joseph had not been the supposed father would have no meaning at all. That none of the Apostles seem to know anything about the miraculous Conception. The gospels not being then in existence, their utterances were all consistent with the Postnatal Translusion view of the divinity. Then, had the family been prepared, by the extraordinary circumstance of the supernatural birth, for His subsequent career, thirty years of His life could hardly have been allowed to pass in obscurity; nor would the family or His friends have been surprised at His doings and sayings and called Him mad when He did emerge. That He Himself was in the habit of markedly and more frequently calling Himself the Son of Man. That if

He was truly Son of Man and Son of God He must have been Son of God in some sense which does not exclude His being also Son of Man, and He must have been Son of Man in some sense which does not exclude His being Son of God. That the Postnatal Infusion theory alone seems to meet these conditions. Also, urge the Postnatalists, all phrases about "coming forth from God," and "He and His Father being one" are as appropriate to the Postnatal theory as to the Prenatal theory. Since what came forth from God (postnatal or prenatal) was certainly one with the Father.

The views, it is further urged, of the Prenatal or so-called orthodox clergy are those which belong to the later version of the miraculous birth incorporated both in Luke and Matthew; both evangelists dealing with the later doctrines of the miraculous Conception, but also embodying the older tradition by retaining the irrelevant genealogies of Joseph. St. Mark, the earliest evangelist, seems to know nothing of the miraculous Conception, nor does St. John, the latest, mention it. St. Paul, whilst silent on the virgin birth, "born of a woman," is most emphatic on the divinity of the Son, a doctrine, of course, as consistent when restated with the Postnatal as with the Prenatal theory.

XI. What necessitates, say the Postnatalists, an entirely new definition of the divinity of Christ is the fact that we have changed our idea of God without changing our idea of Christ. When God was thought of and written about, and even *painted* as a magnified man, it became simple for Him to appear in His entirety as man; but our present enlarged conception of Him as mind governing matter and evolving love, our extended knowledge of astronomy, natural laws, human nature, and human history, make it necessary now to re-define any manifestation of the Deity; God manifest in the flesh requiring some additional explanation. The fact is, you cannot change your conception of God and leave unchanged the conception of your God-man; change your ground conception and every related expression of it must be changed also.

"Put case," say the Postnatalists. At the beginning

of this century our best idea of the locomotive was certainly a coach-and-four; our idea now is the steam-carriage. Suppose we forgot to replace the coach-driver by the engine-driver, we should get a mental as well as a physical shock. The incongruous at once pierces. When the first train appeared in Spain the peasants stared at the engine, and at last thought they had grasped the principle. "Ah! then the mule goes inside," they said. They had changed their locomotive, but the central element belonging to the old locomotive stuck. No conceivable device could supersede the mule. With many of the bishops, priests, and deacons the mule still goes inside.

But when it is argued the bishops, priests and deacons perceive that together with our changed conception of Deity has really vanished all clearness of thought in connection with such phrases as "conceived by the Holy Ghost," in a prenatal, not a postnatal sense—when it is seen that such a homely idea belongs to an anthropomorphic age but thinly, if at all, separated from the days when the gods of Olympus were in the habit of frequenting human society on common if not exactly equal ground (see Acts xiv. 11),—the bishops, priests and deacons, it is thought, will be more ready to listen without offence to the suggestions of the Postnatal clergy, and will cease to confound them with Unitarians, because such a special use of humanity, denoting the coming forth and manifestation of the eternally human side of the Deity under the limitations of humanity for a purpose, will still constitute the figure of Jesus unique and authoritative and separate Him off from the plane of all other prophets and seers. The Postnatal position seems to be fairly covered by Hebrews i. 1: "God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in times past by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken to us by His Son"; and it is a pity theologians have ever tried to go beyond or improve upon that statement. As Dean Milman said, "The world has had little cause to thank them for their inventions."

XII. So runs in brief, as far as I can gather it, the

general contention or proposed restatement of the Postnatal clergy. It will be thought reasonable, distorted, or irrelevant, according to the intellectual calibre, special training, or mental proclivities of the reader. But now, supposing we rule out altogether the Postnatal clergy as people preposterously beyond the pale of orthodoxy, and not to be "taken seriously" (that is the cant phrase), all is by no means lost for the cause of Restatement. What now can be done for the Prenatal and so-called orthodox clergy? Much can be done for them. They might be persuaded to speak words which have a ring of reason and intelligibility. They have only to adopt the terms and put on the mental atmosphere of what I may call the new psychophysiology and speak of the unknown and unfathomed powers of divine Mind-essence (the divine Monad of Theosophy) to impress itself upon and enter into combination with bodily human elements. They would then commend themselves to a large and growing public, of a spiritualistic, theosophist, and generally occult sort, as well as to a small but extremely acute section of the scientific world represented by people like Professor Barrett, Oliver Lodge, Henry Sidgwick, William Crookes, Wallace, Flammarion, Zöllner, &c., and they might include amongst their sympathisers no insignificant portion of the more intuitive *literati*, like Edwin Arnold, Marie Corelli, Lord Lytton, the late Lord Tennyson, and many more. They might or might not carry conviction, but their restatement would not only be covered by orthodoxy, but sound at least rational—a something that could be expressed without alienating or affronting average intelligence.

XIII. It is surprising how a word or a phrase, in harmony with modern thought, will completely change the attitude of the average mind towards views and opinions. Mesmerism is rank superstition, but hypnotism it seems is quite scientific; the gift of healing is absurd, but medical rubbing apparently is all right; witchcraft or even second sight is considerably derided, but brain-waves and thought-reading have practically got themselves accepted. And now to speak of the

Eternal as directly engaged in physical paternity or procreation belongs rather to an age when "the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair," and when Jupiter and Mercury, as Paul and Barnabas, were in fact supposed to be come down to visit their worshippers. But to speak of matter being only a form of mind, of divine thought creating or becoming a physical fact—of the unfathomable mystery of Biogenesis, why that is quite a reverent correlation of the only half-known human and the wholly unknown divine natures. Many may not like, and more may not follow, such a restatement of divine incarnation, but no one after listening to a sermon on such lines need leave church with contempt for the preacher or the doctrine, and why? Because the man in the pew will have heard from the man in the pulpit phrases in harmony with contemporary thought. This is not a light and immaterial consideration. Pray, what from quite a secular standpoint was the power of Christ's teaching? Certainly, amongst other things, the use of phrases in harmony with contemporary thought. "The people were very attentive to hear Him." In what lay primarily the genius of Athanasius (who was not the author of the Athanasian Creed) at the Council of Nicea? Certainly coining Trinitarian phrases of the Nicene Creed in harmony with contemporary thought. What made the popularity of Luther? Certainly his faculty of floating or adapting Pauline phrases in harmony with contemporary thought. "Speak the truth, little monk!" said the rough baron, patting him on the back, as he passed into the great assembly to face the Pope's legate.

And at this time something like a new doctrinal Reformation is at hand. The sixteenth century Reformation was more a moral than a doctrinal one—the twentieth century Reformation will be more a doctrinal than a moral one. It is coming along, with a new pulpit and a new clergy, but that reformation, whatever other useful developments it may take on, will consist primarily, like every past reform, in coining new doctrinal phrases in harmony with contemporary thought.

XIV. It is idle to talk of doing without doctrine. Every age wants as good and as clear statements about religion as possible, but it wants them in the shape of current coin. Our pulpit paper is openly dishonoured, the people won't have it now at a reduction, they even begin to refuse our defaced and worn-out gold; we shall have to close the doors and shut up the establishment—for a clergy that cannot coin afresh as the currency wears out are no better than doctrinal bankrupts.

But what are we to do with the old, precious and authoritative creeds and all the greasy paper that once ran, the dear old thumbed formularies and watch-words? And what are we to do with Paul and Athanasius and Augustine and Anselm and Luther? Why, what do you generally do with the old gold—you simply melt it up with any new gold you can find in the ends of the earth, then stamp it with the hall-mark of the age and the king's head, and our king is the King of kings and the Lord of lords, and so your gold will be found as good as ever and fit to use over again.

I do not see at this time of day why the Church should not countenance and accept frankly some general statement of belief in the divinity of Jesus Christ, as that seems to be, for the moment, the pivot upon which controversy turns, as the Bible and Real Presence were the Reformation pivots. I do not see why any definition at all should be insisted upon. I do not see again why the Church should not make a virtue of necessity and avowedly tolerate what exists, and what she will never put down, and what she cannot prevent the existence of within her bosom—viz., the two schools of clerical thought which are not avowedly but are actually working side by side, and which I have described as the Prenatalist and Postnatalist theories. This would hardly be a greater stretch of toleration than a good deal which she has been forced to allow under protest at successive epochs. The Low Church clergy, the High Church, the Broad Church, the Slow Church, and the No Church clergy even at present represent such an *omnium gatherum* of tolerated dissidence as was surely never brought together in any

other ecclesiastical establishment. I venture to say that if anything like the extended franchise in doctrine which I suggest were proclaimed there would be to-morrow such a rush of brave and ardent spirits into the ranks of the Episcopal ministry, and such a general revival of power, as would make the Low Church fervour and the High Church glow seem as the pale northern sun to the rays of the tropics. There will be no such extended franchise offered; every bishop wants to die in peace; but if the clergy choose to take it, it is pretty clear that they will now be let alone. Let them take it. The clergy have never yet been saved by the hierarchy, but the hierarchy has often been saved by the Church. A distinguished prelate said the other day to a Broad Church priest: "You must make it possible for us to countenance the doctrinal liberty you advocate. You must create the public opinion. Bishops have other work."

XV. But, it will be objected, the Roman Catholic Church and the Nonconformists generally are as conservative in doctrine as the Established Church, and yet you admit that they have thriven above the Church of England, whilst in the same breath you assert that the Church of England has lost power in consequence of its doctrine being obsolete. The explanation of the apparent paradox is not far to seek.

The Roman Catholic, whilst pronouncing authoritatively on a number of questions which the laity are content to leave alone or prefer to have no opinion at all upon, fits itself elaborately about the lives of the people, cultivates their devotion, and provides them with spiritual discipline. It also carefully selects and adapts its clergy to their special spheres, and removes them if inefficient. It cultivates and recognises good preaching.

The Nonconformist ministers, again, are chosen for their fitness to conciliate the average worshipper; and a margin of extemporary prayer, and in many sects even an absence or tacit suspension of oppressive doctrinal standards, enable them to come into closer touch with the life and religion of the people. They are

more human and less stilted, more social and less exclusive, than the Anglicans, and there is no such official barrier between them and their people as the Church clergyman frequently erects. They are also bound to be active and efficient preachers, or they are speedily removed.

The Established clergy need not be able to preach at all, or even to speak audibly. They are not authoritative like the Roman Catholic, nor eloquent like the Nonconformist; they are endlessly apologetic and habitually dull. Their sermons are stuffed with arguments which prove nothing, and apologies which require to be apologised for. The Anglican Church is Orthodox without unction, and Ritual without life. The new clergy have got to alter that.

The tendency of the hierarchy is ever to keep things as they are. No one must be too clever; it is bad ecclesiastical form. Even excessive piety is not quite orthodox. If a man is fairly audible, and preaches sermons not absolutely without point, the chances are he will be kept out of the chief pulpits as long as possible; when, at last, he is admitted, he will be extolled as a pulpit light—and a poor glimmer of a glow-worm it often is!

What wonder if the Nonconformist preachers walk over the course, and the chapel is crowded whilst the church is empty.

“ ‘Tis true ‘tis pity; and pity ‘tis ‘tis true!’ ”

XVI. I seem, at the end of my article, to have only just touched the fringe of my subject. As the action of the new clergy towards doctrine must be changed, so must their general attitude towards life, science, art, literature, public pastimes, and amusements. Ours is not “the world” of Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero, alluded to by our Lord and His disciples, and announced as wholly evil, a very plague-stricken community. It is the world of Victoria, and of nominally Christian empires and republics, bad enough in all conscience if we look only at the dark side, but a world in which Christ sees at least nineteen centuries of the

travail of His soul, a world full of protest against the evil that is in it, with types of holiness and heroes of goodness and agencies charged with redeeming grace, abounding in honourable work, noble ideals, and not without healthy pastimes and pleasures. The light is at any rate shining in the darkness, and the leaven, though hidden, is working more and more effectually in the lump. A mere ascetic protest against everything agreeable is not good enough or wide enough for the age in which we live. The new problem for such a new world is the reconciliation of the tremendous empire of the senses, the solitary supremacy of the soul. Neither Protestantism nor Romanism has been able to blend or harmonise these two inextinguishable tendencies.

Protestantism, as I have elsewhere observed, is more true to life than Romanism; it throws in the sop of a married clergy, and gives other liberal fees to a secular life; but it is only more liberal because less logical than the Mother of Churches. Our Church professions and practices hardly cohere. The language of the Prayer Book contains still the anathema on the senses; the baptismal and the marriage services are still the whitewashing of appetites not conceived of as natural and right, but as in themselves carnal and evil. Our religion at present grapples with the senses alone, by crushing them; or it grapples with the soul alone by isolating it in mystic contemplation, confining its activities to what is called "good works"—*i.e.*, philanthropy, charity, and discipline—and shutting it out from just one half of human life. But how to blend the senses and the soul—that the Church does not show. It has no theory on the subject; it is exactly where St. Simeon Stylites or St. Benedict left it ages ago. The Romanist or the Ritualist sees clearer than the Protestant. He is quite right; with our present theories, which are those ancient theories, we must go back to those ancient times; yes, we must either go backwards or forwards; we cannot any longer stand still.

For a moment the problem stood out with startling

distinctness. At the Italian Renaissance, the pagan world, which knew how to deal with the senses, woke up with the re-discovery of Greek and Athenian literature, and faced the Christian world, which knew how to deal with the soul alone; with Stylites they strove together; the result was unexpected, even monstrous; the revival of art and letters paganised for a moment Christianity. The Court of Leo X. was Christian only in name; its ideals and its passions were purely pagan. The mad reaction passed, but left the Church full of discords which no Catholic or Protestant dialectic has yet been able to resolve.

XVII. I believe that the key to the reconciliation of the heterogeneous elements which strove for the mastery at the Renaissance, the rights of the senses and the soul, will be found in the fuller and freer recognition of both, and not in the extinction of either. The world may at last come to mean "the flesh," but not necessarily "the devil"; the kingdom of God may mean holiness and upward endeavour, but not dulness, stupidity, narrowness, or inhumanity. In the Church of the future "the great, glad, aboriginal instincts" will have to count once more, nor will the infinite sigh of the soul for an excellency, purity, and beauty supernal be therefore stifled. He who will give us not only restatement in doctrine, but the true law of subordination of the lower to the higher in the conduct of life, the life of progress in the scale of ascension; he who will show the purity, because the fitness, of all things in due season and in ripe proportion, who will preach, with Christ and Paul, the supremacy of love, which is the loss of selfish life in the flood-tide of regenerated humanity—he will be the new priest of the near future. We will have no more mongrel philosophy; we will have no more divided allegiance, and no more confused ideals. The dear old angels may have to go out, but the great archangels will come in; we shall know them, and we shall follow them; they will lead us to "the Christ that is to be!"

THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH IN APOSTOLIC TIMES.*

II.

BY T. M. LINDSAY, D.D.

From *The Contemporary Review* (London), October, 1895.

It is probable that those three Churches of Rome, Corinth, and Thessalonica, were first organised with an administration suggested by the patronate well known to Roman and Greek law and usage, and therefore very familiar to inhabitants of these cities.

There remains a fourth type of organisation not less suggestive. Whatever view be taken of the organisation of the Church at Jerusalem, whether we identify or discriminate between the Seven and the presbyterate, one thing is clear—that we find in the Jerusalem community what we do not see elsewhere at so early a period, the manifest permanent pre-eminence of one man, and that man not one of the Twelve. It appears impossible to explain the continuous and marked influence of St. James,† the brother of our Lord, in that Church, on any theory of an organisation arranged simply on the basis of a Judæo-Christian presbyterate. Dr. Lightfoot inferred from this peculiar position occupied by St. James that we have here the first traces of a developed form of the Christian ministry which became almost universal by the middle of the second century—viz., that of a permanent president of the college of presbyters, called an *episcopus*. To review all the evidence against this theory would lead me far beyond my subject into the Ebionite and Pseudo-Clementine controversies, and I shall content myself with saying that besides the evidence from the Ebionite and Post-Clementine writings which indicate that the position of James had a peculiarly Eastern character about it,‡ differing entirely from that of the bishop-president of the college of presbyters in Gentile Christian Churches,

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† Cf. Gal. i. 19, ii. 9, 12; Acts xii. 17, xv. 13 *sq.*, xxi. 18.

‡ Cf. Ritschl, "Ents. d. Alik. Kirche," p. 415 *sq.*, 2nd ed.

a few facts show that his place in the Church at Jerusalem suggests another type of organisation. The James who was the recognised and honoured head of the Christian Society in Jerusalem was the eldest male surviving relative of our Lord.* We are told by Eusebius,† quoting, it can hardly be doubted, from Hegesippus, that after the martyrdom of St. James and the fall of Jerusalem, the remaining Apostles and personal disciples of our Lord, *with His surviving relatives*, met together and unanimously selected Symeon to fill the vacant place.‡ In another passage he says that Symeon was the son of Cleopas our Lord's paternal uncle, and adds that he "was put forward by all as the second in succession, *being cousin of the Lord*."§ In a third he says, "the child of the Lord's paternal uncle, the afore-said Symeon son of Cleopas,"|| and, in a fourth, he says that Hegesippus relates that Cleopas was the brother of Joseph.¶ Hegesippus refers repeatedly to the kinship between Symeon and our Lord, and we may infer that Symeon was the eldest male surviving relative of Jesus. The last name we have in history of our Lord's kinsmen has also been preserved by this early Palestinian writer, who evidently made it his business to collect all such details. He tells us that in the fifteenth year of Domitian "there still survived kinsmen of the Lord, grandsons of Judas who was called our Lord's brother according to the flesh." They were dragged to Rome, and brought before the Emperor. He questioned them. They showed him their hands, horny with holding the plough, and said that the land they tilled was worth about £225. The Emperor sent them back to Palestine. Hegesippus tells us that they were made rulers of the Church because they had been martyrs *and were of the lineage of our Lord*, and that they lived till the reign of Trajan.** Their names were Zoker and James.†† A succession

* Matt. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3; Euseb. "Eccl. Hist." i. 12, ii. 1, 23, iii. 11.

† "Eccl. Hist." iii. 11.

‡ Euseb. "Eccl. Hist." iii. 11.

§ "Eccl. Hist." iv. 22.

|| *Ibid.*, iii. 32.

¶ *Ibid.*, iii. 11.

** Euseb. "Eccl. Hist." iii. 20.

†† Philippus Sidetes 'apud' Cramer, "Anecd. Græc." ii. 88. Sidetes quotes Hegesippus.

in the male line of the kindred of Jesus, where the eldest surviving male relative of the founder succeeds and where the election to office is largely regulated by a family council of the surviving relatives, has no analogy to any form of Christian Church government seen among Gentile Christians, and the fact that on one occasion there were two heads to the one community makes the difference all the greater. But the type of organisation is easily recognisable. It was and to this day is a common Oriental usage that the headship of a religious society is continued in the line of the founder's kinship, not according to the laws of the Western succession from father to son, but from eldest surviving male relative to eldest surviving male relative, whether brother, uncle, or cousin. Here again we have a Christian community organised under Apostolic sanction on a plan borrowed from familiar social custom.

The government of the Churches in Ephesus and in Crete by temporary superintendents like Timothy and Titus gives us a fifth and wholly different government. For some time it seemed as if the term *ἡγούμενοι*,* which Dr. Lightfoot and many other writers look upon as equivalent to presbyters and episcopi, might furnish a sixth type. The use of the word in Dion Cassius and some other writers led me to suppose that there might be a reference to the members of municipal councils or members of district assemblies, but further study convinced me that Dr. Harnack† is right in supposing that the word does not refer to office-bearers at all, but to a class of honoured men who were not attached to any congregation and who bear the general designation of *οἱ λαλοῦντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ*—a class to which I shall refer immediately. If we are to judge from later Western analogies, the *ἡγούμενος* was the leader of a band of missionaries, and crystallised in later days into the head of a convent.‡

I venture to say that these five types of ecclesiastical organisations which existed side by side with each

* Heb. xiii. 7, 17, 24.

† Harnack, "Lehre der Zwölf Apostel," p. 94 n.

‡ The *ἡγούμενος* is the abbot of a Greek monastery, cf. Ducange under the word *Abbas*.

other within the one corporate Apostolic Church, some of them probably side by side in the same town,* had roots further apart from each other than has any existing form of Church government—Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Congregationalist, Wesleyan, or Episcopal Methodist. They all had Apostolic sanction, and they all arose from the Church making use for its own purposes of a mode of social organisation familiar to its members. The great diversity did not last long. The Montanist movement, which was an almost successful attempt to retain the old usages and diversities, was crushed, and by the end of the fourth century the presidents of Christian communities by dint of much persuading had created a comparative uniformity of organisation within the Empire, with the usual accompaniment of schism, and had been helped by much very ruthless action on the part of their Imperial ally. Outside the Empire, however, the diversity was not only recognised, but permitted. Outside the Empire the Church took advantage of the tribal system and organised itself on the clan model. The Council of Constantinople in its second canon said: "The Churches of God established among the barbarians should live according to the laws taught them by their fathers"† —a canon appealed to by Columban in his controversies with the clergy of Burgundy as late as 590 A.D.‡

The question now arises, How did those individual communities so diversely organised continue to seem, to feel, and to be one great corporate unity? It must be at once admitted that their sense of oneness amid diversity was not maintained by all those societies being linked together by means of a visible and universal polity. There is no trace of this for many a century. Nor was there what appeared in due time a more or less (often less) harmonious circle of presidents of communities such as Cyprian insisted on. The New Testament gives a very simple solution, though, from our ignorance of the sense of the words

* Cf. Lightfoot, "Comt. on Phil.," p. 221, sixth edition; Sanday, *Expositor*, December 1888.

† Hefele, "Conciliengeschichte," ii. 16.

‡ Migne, "Patrologia," xxxvii. 266.

used, we failed to see part at least of what is said. When, however, Bishop Bryennios published in 1875 the little treatise called "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," or "Didache," a precious relic of the Sub-Apostolic Age, the meanings of those New Testament terms were explained, and the explanations given could be understood.

This "Didache" gives us a picture of an individual Christian community where affairs are administered by a Hellenic presbyterate of *episcopi* and deacons. These two sets of office-bearers have apparently the same duties—to lead the worship, superintend the finances, and look after the discipline of the community. It is impossible to say whether the distinction of name implied a division of duties, or whether it was simply that of older and younger, more and less experienced. The probability is that the distinction was personal rather than official—all that can be said is that no precise division of duties is to be found. The little Church is an independent, self-contained, Christian community. It is not connected with any other Christian communities by an ecclesiastical organisation of the political kind; and yet it has the knowledge that it belongs to a world-wide federation of equally independent societies. Its self-containedness and independence do not produce isolation. On the contrary, it is a real part of the Universal Church of God to which many hundreds of other societies belong, and with all of them it is praying, waiting, working, and making for the coming of the kingdom of God. As Dr. Harnack* says, the indications of the recognition of this corporate unity of the whole Church of Christ read like a commentary on Tertullian's oft-quoted sentence, "We are a body knit together by a common religious profession, by unity and discipline, and by the bond of a common hope."† The spiritual unity of the whole Church of Christ was recognised in the fact that all Christians in every community were baptised in the name of Jesus, that they all partook of the same holy

* Harnack, "Lehre d. Zwölf Apostel," p. 89.

† Tertullian, "Apol." 39.

food in the Sacrament of the Supper, that they all received the same Holy Oracles, and that they all lived under the same commandments of God.

This spiritual unity was made visible in such a way that Christians within the Church and pagans outside could see it. Tertullian, to quote him again, says: "Therefore all the Churches, although they are so many and so great, comprise but one primitive Church . . . and are all proved to be one in unbroken unity by the *communicatio pacis, et appellatio fraternitatis, et contesseratio hospitalitatis*."* In the "Didache" this is seen going on under our eyes. Every one who comes in the name of the Lord is to get a brotherly reception: the profession of the Christian faith is the only letter of introduction required. The picture gives a new and deeper meaning to the recommendation of hospitality, and the duty of doing good to all men, especially to those of the household of faith,† which we find in the New Testament. These deeds are more than the exercise of Christian love: they are the visible signs of the brotherhood of believers and of the corporate unity of the Church of Christ.

The corporate unity was made manifest in a still more thorough and striking way—by *intercommunication*, which was partly official and partly unofficial.

Professor Ramsay‡ has so thoroughly collected the evidence for the official side of this intercommunication, that it is only necessary to direct attention to his arguments. The fact of communication, both by letters and by special messengers, between various Christian communities is apparent from the very beginnings of Christianity.§ The greater part of the New Testament writings is composed of such letters addressed to individual Churches, or meant to be sent round to several, or directed to Christian men and women. One of the earliest instances of an official letter sent from one Church to another is given in Acts xv. 22, 23.

* Tertullian, "De Præscript." 20.

† Rom. xii. 13; Gal. vi. 10; Heb. xiii. 2; cf. 1 Clem. i. 35; 1 Tim. v. 10.

‡ Ramsay, "The Church in the Roman Empire," pp. 364 sq., 288, &c.

§ Rom. xvi. 1, 8, 9; 1 Cor. xvi. 17; Eph. vi. 21; Phil. iv. 18; 2 Tim. iv. 9-21; Tit. iii. 12, 13.

The Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians is another. The Epistles of Ignatius and Polycarp are full of references to letters, messengers, welcomes, and greetings.* A heathen like the keen-sighted Lucian uses language which implies that this custom was so constant, and that such incredible speed was displayed in the doing of it, that it was a visible characteristic of the Christian communities.† The other side of the custom is seen in the official provision made by communities to facilitate this intercourse, in the rules laid down about official hospitality,‡ and in the appointment of one of the college of presbyters to take charge of this special duty.§

The unofficial side of this intercommunication also existed from the earliest times of Christianity, although until the recovery and publication of the "Didache" it was unobserved. There we see that the Christian community is taught to revere, care for, and listen to men who frequently visit it, and who are designated by names frequently occurring in the New Testament writings—apostles, prophets, and teachers. The apostles are not the Twelve, who had passed away before the "Didache" was written. They seem to have been men whose special duty was to preach Christ to the heathen and to the unconverted—missionaries and missioners in one. They are not expected to remain long within the Christian community, nor to fare softly when they are there. The Lord had given His people a picture of what His real missionaries in these early times were to be like: "Go preach . . . provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your girdles, nor wallet for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes nor staves."¶ So the "Didache" tested apostles. If they spent more than three days among Christians, if they asked for money, if they were not content with bread and water, they were not true apostles and were to be dismissed.¶

* Ignatius, "Eph." 22; "Magn." 14, 15; "Trallians," 13; "Rom." 10; "Phil." 10, 11; "Polycarp," 7, 8; Polycarp "Phil." 13.

† Lucian, "De Morte Peregrini," 12, 41.

‡ 1 Tim. iii. 2; Tit. i. 8; Ignatius, "Eph." 2, "Smyr." 10; Hermas, "Simil." ix. 27.

§ Hermas, "Vis." ii. 4.

¶ Matt. x. 7-10.

¶ "Didache," xi.

The prophets and teachers were not men with gifts of prophecy like the Old Testament seers, nor were they teaching or preaching presbyters. Their duty was to the converted, to believers; and them they were to instruct by plain and practical discourses, and so build them up in the faith. These preachers were allowed to stay for some time in the community: the offering of the first-fruits was set apart for their support. Ascetic living was not expected from them, but honest work was. If they were idle, or asked for money, or did not practise what they preached, they were false prophets, and must depart.* These honoured brethren, with different vocations, are alike in this, that they do not hold office in any Christian community nor discharge any administrative function. They hold a divine mandate, they are specially taught by the Holy Spirit, they are servants of the whole Church of Christ and not of any individual or local Church. The picture of these wandering missionaries and preachers, oppressed by no cares of office, burdened by no pastoral duties, coming suddenly into a Christian community, doing their work there, then passing suddenly to another, is a very vivid one. Their presence—men who are the servants of all the Churches and of no one Church—was a most striking proof of the corporate unity of the Church of Christ. In these earlier days they were what Cyprian† wished the *episcopi* to be, the cement making the whole Church cohere; they were the bond uniting all the scattered independent communities into one corporate and visible whole.

Now we find abundant mention of apostles, prophets and teachers from the earliest beginnings of Christianity and down to nearly the end of the second century. We find them in the New Testament. Dr. Lightfoot, as early as 1865, had pointed out that the New Testament recognises the existence of apostles who are not of the Twelve. The "Didache" tells us that they were the special missionaries of the Church. The common name for these three classes of men

* Didache, xi., xiii.

† Cyprian, "Epist." lxxi. 8.

worthy to be held in all honour seems to have been—*Those speaking the word of God*. They are mentioned by this common designation in the New Testament; in the "Didache," in *Hermas*, and in the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, where Clement shows that they are distinct from the office-bearers or presbyters.* They appear by their class-names in both the canonical and extra-canonical writings. They are regarded as special gifts of God to His Church, prolongations of the spiritual blessings of the day of Pentecost. St. Paul says that God has set them in the Church and through them placed within its reach powers, helps, wise counsels, and gifts of healing and of tongues.† They, by their gifts of exhortation, are to do service to the Church by perfecting the saints and building up the body of Christ.‡ They have gone forth among the Gentiles, seen their conversion to the faith of Jesus, and known that mystery of the universality of the Gospel which had remained hidden until that time.§ The Church of Christ, where Jesus is the chief corner-stone, has been built upon their labours.|| They are to be found everywhere. They are in the Church at Antioch, where the prophets assembled there persuaded the brethren to nominate and send two missionaries or apostles to the Gentiles.¶ Judas and Silas, prophets from Jerusalem, because they were prophets, exhorted and confirmed the Church at Antioch, when they delivered the circular letter from the conference.** *Hermas* was a prophet at Rome. Polycarp was a prophet, as well as president of the community, at Smyrna.†† The martyrs at Lyons had received grace from apostles' preaching.‡‡ It is needless to multiply instances. From the beginnings of Christianity down to the middle of the second century, these men, not as a rule office-bearers in any Christian community, went from Church to Church,

* Heb. xiii. 7, 17, 24; Acts xv. 22, 32; 1 Clem. i. 31; "Didache," iv., xi., xiii., xv. I assume in these quotations that *ἡγούμενοι* was an equivalent term. Cf. *supra*, p. 558.

† 1 Cor. xii. 28.

‡ Eph. iv. 11.

§ Eph. iii. 5.

|| Eph. ii. 20.

¶ Acts xiii. 1.

** Acts xv. 29.

†† Ep. of Smyrn. 16.

‡‡ Eus., "Hist. Eccl." v. 1.

and from city to city, binding the many hundreds of separate independent Christian communities into one great corporate unity, till it could think, speak, and act as if it had one brain, one tongue, and one will.

The final answer, therefore, to the question with which I started will be : That the corporate unity of the Apostolic and Sub-Apostolic Church included a federation of the many hundreds of individual communities organised for the purposes of discipline and administration on types differing more widely from each other than any existing systems of Church government, but keeping the sense of the oneness of the Christian Church alive within their hearts by the thought that all shared in the same sacraments, were taught by the same Word of God, obeyed the same commandments, and shared a common hope of the coming of the same kingdom. That they made this unity manifest by mutual help in all Christian social work and by boundless and brotherly hospitality to all fellow-Christians. While the picture of this corporate unity was always kept before them in the fraternal intercourse of Church with Church by official letters and messengers, and was made vivid by the swift succession of wandering apostles, prophets, and teachers, who, belonging to no one community, were the servants of the whole Church of Christ and were the binding stones making it cohere together.

There is a moral for a modern divided Church in this picture of ancient far-off Christianity, but like all morals it will probably be most effective if left unsaid.

WHY BE RELIGIOUS?

A PAPER FOR YOUNG MEN.

BY REV. PROFESSOR MARCUS DODS, D.D.

From *The British Weekly* (London), October 24, 1895.

THERE are many men, and especially in a practical and busy country like our own, who have no positive ill-will to religion, and who are quite decent and re-

spectable in their conduct, but who have no interest at all in things unseen. Either they give an outward attendance on religious observances as a harmless traditional custom which they have not sufficient independence or perhaps sufficient interest to neglect; or they quietly glide out of all connection with religion even of this formal kind, and give themselves entirely to business and pleasure and the pursuits which attract them. A busy man without much imagination, and with an easy, uneducated conscience, is under great temptation to leave religion to people that are fond of it, and to look upon attention to things spiritual as a harmless way of spending time if nothing else is pressing. The cultivation of religion is a pardonable weakness, especially in women and invalids; and though sometimes uneasy when they have to follow a friend to the grave, they acquire a convenient dexterity in evading all that suggests a world in which the body and trade do not play all the parts. Such men, with nothing which may be called natural aptitude for religion, and with life running too swiftly for any pauses of quiet deliberation, are greatly to be felt for. They are missing the best of life and the whole of eternity; they are visibly narrowed by neglecting to develop what is deepest in human nature, and, as life goes on and the incapacities of old age creep upon them, they shrivel into an inconsiderable husk of humanity.

There is need then to ask the question, Why should there be such a thing as religion? Why should we not be content to eat and drink, buy and sell, if possible enjoy ourselves, and die? Why is not this earthly life with its various appeals to the senses, the mind, and the heart sufficing? Is religion a superstition which wastes our time and disappoints our hopes, is it a survival we should discard, or is it a justifiable, reasonable, necessary element in human life? Am I nearer the truth or further from it if I am religious? Ought I or ought I not to be religious?

The first step to an answer must be the ascertainment of the meaning of the word "religion." Even in an apparently religious country like ours, there are

the gravest misunderstandings of the nature of religion. If you ask our leaders in the world of thought what religion is, you will be told that it is morality touched with emotion, or morality raised to an ideal height ; or from other quarters the answer comes that to venerate the great mystery that lies at the origin of all things is religion. Religion, as actually manifested by men, is belief in and intercourse with the unseen super-human powers that rule this world. It is man's response to the unseen power that is ever active around and within him, and upon which he feels himself to be dependent. It concerns itself with our relations to the Supreme. It springs from the consciousness of some superior power with which we are somehow associated or connected, a consciousness which is awakened by what is experienced or observed in nature and in conscience ; and it deals with this power as able to understand and respond to human feeling and desire, and it seeks by worship, by conduct, to come into harmonious relations with this power.

Religion exists and has existed in a vast variety of manifestations, varying according to the ideas men hold of the Supreme. The highest form of religion is that which recognises the Supreme as the Incomprehensible Spirit who underlies all existence, and at the same time is our absolutely holy and loving Father. Our religion must therefore be a religion of the Spirit. To be in a real and permanent relation to the absolutely holy and loving God, we must ourselves be holy and loving. Religion concerns itself with our relation to God, and our true, eternal relation to God is attained when we attain to perfect harmony with Him. This harmony must not be the merely apparent and temporary alliance which might be effected by compulsion or outward arrangement, but the thorough spiritual unanimity and abiding fellowship which result from identity of will and similarity of character. Religion is not perfect unless we are truly children of God ; and until we are morally like God we can only in a superficial sense be called religious men. Religion, in short, is primarily and essentially a thing of the

spirit; the true religion is that which brings us into our right relation to God.

The practical misunderstandings of religion which prevail among us are chiefly two: that which identifies it with morality, and that which identifies it with worship.

(i) Religion is not morality. It produces morality, but is not identical with it. Religion is intended to produce morality, and where there is no morality there is no religion, save in appearance. Perfect morality is impossible apart from religion, for our relation to our fellow men can only be understood when our relation to God is understood. Brothers are brothers to one another because they are first of all children of one parent. If we forget or ignore our parentage, our brotherhood becomes a name. The relation of the earth to the moon can only be understood when the relation of both to the sun is considered.

Often, indeed, morality seems more worthy of respect than religion; and so it is. It is more worthy of respect than a religion which has not produced morality, for that must be spurious. Any religion which stands alone and separate from morality, so as to admit of being compared with morality, is worthless. Religion without morality is rotten; morality without religion is precarious, imperfect, without trustworthy root. The man who deliberately neglects religion, or has only examined it from the outside, is sometimes a steadfast and serviceable friend, gentle, patient, self-sacrificing, courageous in the various exigencies and relationships of life. Attracted by such characters, and repelled by the sanctimonious formalism and lax morality and hard selfishness of some who profess religion, men are apt to say, the best religion is to be moral. But, after all, this is but a shallow judgment. Put out of court hypocrisy and superficiality, and what remains to guide our decision? This remains: that the man who has no religion is leaving out of account the most important element in human life. However high and fine a man's character be, it would be refined to a higher standard and raised to a perfect level were

he to add to all his native worth the results of true fellowship with God. The merely moral man is necessarily an imperfect man. He resembles a branch of blossom carried through the streets by a boy who has broken it off its stem. It is beautiful, but also pathetic, because it is detached from its proper root.

(2) A more lamentable misapprehension of the nature of religion is that which identifies it with religious services, acts of worship, rites, ritual, and ordinances; what Ruskin calls "the dramatic Christianity of the organ and the aisle, of dawn-service and twilight revival, gas-lighted and gas-inspired Christianity." Religion, though of the spirit, is maintained by outward acts of worship, and is aided by reading, prayer, and communion. But as these *means* are themselves more obvious than the results they accomplish, they unfortunately become more identified with religion, and in determining whether any one is religious or not, attention is generally directed to a few practices and habits, whose real importance lies solely in what they accomplish, and not at all in themselves. If it be asked whether a man is religious or irreligious, such features of his life are cited as that he has family prayers night and morning, that he is regular in attendance at Church, and fond of reading his Bible. But nothing is said of the result of these practices in his character or in a Christ-like life. Thus religion comes to be identified in many minds with what is external and ceremonial.

No misunderstanding of religion is more fatal. If religion is nothing more than attending Divine service with becoming gravity and decorously performing the acts of an elaborate ritual, then it is a pernicious, degrading burden which reasonable men ought to abolish. To encourage men in the imagination that they have attained the summit of human excellence when they can fast twice a week and make themselves ridiculous by old world dresses and the antics of mummers, is to burlesque religion. To lead men to measure their religious attainment by their diligence in any kind of ritual observances is simply to delude them. Religion is thus, instead of being the very life of the spirit, giv-

ing it its true place in the universe and its best development, instead of imparting to it principles which form the character in the noblest model, is transformed into a pitiful routine of mechanical performances which might be more accurately, and I venture to say more acceptably, performed by a soulless automaton.

Thus misconceiving religion, many persons abhor the thought of it; and necessarily, for instead of looking at it as the culmination of all human experiences, the best of friendships, the noblest of services, and that which alone brings perfect development to human nature, they think of it as a harsh bondage, which covers life with gloom, as the acceptance of some idle beliefs, and the spending of time and energy on silly observances, and as the introduction of an alien element into human life. So long as we feel as if life might be enjoyable without religion, but with it must be intolerable and dreary in the extreme, so long as we do not see that nothing but religion can make life permanently tolerable, we misunderstand both life and religion. Religion is meant to make life hopeful, reasonable, and strong; and if to us it makes life harder, if it only worries us with a thousand meaningless restrictions and petty performances, it is an erroneous idea of religion we have. It is meant to give us liberty, the fullest development of our nature, and the utmost use and enjoyment of life; and it on the contrary it seems to stunt our energies, and to make us formal and even false, our religion is a mistake.

This, then, being religion, we come back to the question, Why should we be religious? Practically, it is perhaps to death that we owe much of our interest in religion. It is death which to all men, and necessarily, suggests the question whether there is another world, a spiritual world, independent of flesh and other things visible. This one good at least we derive from death, that it compels us to ask what it hides and what it commits us to. As one by one men are irrecoverably removed from earth, our thoughts cannot but follow them with desire and inquiry. Each man must himself die. Each man knows that the day is coming when for

himself and by himself he must make trial of the vast beyond. Suspended over the dark abyss, he cannot but question what it contains, what forms of life may there exist. Will he there be guided and shielded by an intelligent, powerful, and loving spirit? Will he find there a life continuous with the present, governed by the same moral ideas, fulfilling similar purposes? Or will he be launched into he knows not what chaos of hostile influences, and adverse and calamitous conditions? Is his personal identity terminated, his conscious connection with things for ever broken, when he ceases to take part in this world?

But whatever be the exciting cause, the craving to find the highest Power, and to hold communion with that Power, is well-nigh universal, and certainly is a characteristic of human nature. This craving has in untutored and unsophisticated races made impossible the question, *Why be religious?* And if that question now needs to be put, its answer is the simple one: *Because it is possible.* If there is a God, if there is a Supreme, then religion is at once our duty and our happiness.

The late Prof. Seeley, with exquisite elaboration, sought to convince us that Goethe's saying is true: *He who has science and art has also religion.* (*Wer Wissenschaft und kunst besitzt Hat auch Religion.*) He sought to show that religion is worship; and that wherever men worship, that is, devotedly admire, nature, there is religion. It is quite as true to say, that no religion satisfies the human heart in which there is not personal communion. With a blind, material force we can have no personal communion. We ourselves think and propose ends to ourselves; we are conscious of a right and a wrong; and we crave communion with One who can also cherish purpose, and guide things to a righteous end. We must find a response both to our mental and moral nature, and this can only be in One who guides all things with reason and righteousness. The world becomes rational and moral to us only when we believe in a God Himself rational and moral.

Only, then, if a man has unhappily become convinced that there is no guiding intelligence, no presiding purpose, in the universe, only if a man has come to believe that all things are material and mechanical, and that there is no spiritual Being who can understand and help him, can he with reason turn his back on religion. If there is a God, a Being in and by whom all else lives, a Being conscious and intelligent, able to understand us, though we cannot understand how He lives or what He is; if there is One without whom we could not be, and whose will is guiding all things to one worthy end, then plainly to neglect all possible intercourse with this Being is to neglect the most important element in our life. To ascertain our true relationship to Him and to act upon it is our first duty; and as a Being of infinite wisdom must necessarily be a Being of infinite goodness, it will also be our surest happiness to know and to respond to Him. To live without acknowledging Him is to live in an unreal world. If our hopes in life take no account of God, if they leave out of account the determining factor in all affairs, with what reason can we look for success and happiness? And if, indeed, God is not only supreme, but supreme because the one eternal Being, full of wisdom and goodness, how can we defend to ourselves the state of mind which can disregard His claims, which can make nothing of gratitude, nothing of duty, nothing of the hope of holiness, and of working out the purposes of God? Religion has had the misfortune to be only once perfectly represented to men. Only once has man's relation to God been perfectly set forth and perfectly realised; only once has it been seen that religion is not a superfluous or ornamental addition to life, or a thing separable from it, but the very strength and soul of life—as needful to our higher nature as the air we breathe is needful to our bodies.

Some persons are so happily constituted that faith in a Personal God seems ineradicably fixed in their mind. It has been hereditary through so many past generations that it resembles a native instinct. Arguments for or against the existence of God make no impression

upon them. Such persons do not know how much they have to be thankful for. Perhaps neither do they know how heavy a responsibility they carry with them through life. But in many minds the discrediting, if not explosion, of the old arguments produces a sense of uncertainty which is very apt to become permanent, and to have all the effect of pronounced unbelief. When we discover that our ideas about creation must be materially modified ; when we learn that we have spoken much too confidently regarding the nature and ways of the Infinite and incomprehensible God ; when a large number of scientific men assure us that we are descended from other animals, and are radically material and subject to decay ; when we are assured that the human spirit cannot exist separate from the human body, and that individual immortality is a dream, and the mere projection of our desire to live on ; when it is explained to us that morality is not necessarily dependent on religious belief, but is rather a matter of race and habit and knowledge ; when the air is filled with questions hard to answer, and when at every point what we considered settled has to be altered, we understand how easy it is for men in our day to become sceptical. No doubt when one has time to examine in detail the confident statements of scientific and literary men, it is found that their weight is by no means so considerable as it seemed ; but when a man's own spiritual experience has been disappointing, when he has striven against sin and looked for help from above, and yet cannot see evidence in his life that his prayers have been answered, this gives the key of the citadel into the hands of the assailants, and makes his hand feeble to hold the gate against the invasion of doubt.

It has become fashionable in our time airily to put religion aside on the ground that we cannot affirm Personality or anything else of the Power which underlies all existence, and of which the only thing we can know is that it is unknowable. There are always many persons who cannot resist the allurements of a worldly life, and who are glad to avail themselves of a good pretext for not troubling about religion, God, eternity.

And there are also men who with great distress of mind come to the conclusion that nothing certain is to be known about anything, and that to profess love and service to an unknown and unknowable God is for them impossible.

Now the truth which Agnosticism affirms, that God is past finding out, that a personal Spirit present with every one of His creatures, living personally in and through the whole material universe, is incomprehensible to our mind, is precisely the Scriptural position that we know but in part and cannot find out the Almighty to perfection. And any rebuke which is calculated to abate the audacity and dogmatism of theological statement we certainly also accept with gladness. But when human inability to know *everything* about God is used as equivalent to inability to know anything about Him, we demur.

Were this the case, the study of physical science would be as promptly checkmated as the knowledge of God. For who can perfectly understand the forces with which he daily deals, and on which he bases his calculations? No man understands what gravitation is, although it holds together the whole universe; no man knows with precision the origin of the world and its destiny, and yet we know much about the world, and about those parts of it with which we have directly to do. We can only guess at the origin of the sun, and slowly learn its composition and probable future; yet we live by it, calculate its movements, enjoy its light and heat, and at all events are sure that it is, and has a beneficent connection with us. And, again, there are many things of whose existence we may be sure, although we find ourselves unable to form a mental image of them. We know that the sun is some 93,000,000 of miles from the earth, but no human mind can form any clear conception of that distance. Similarly we may be sure that God has intelligence, will, something corresponding to personality in ourselves, although when we strive to conceive of such a personality co-existing with infinite and eternal existence we may be at a loss.

Besides, the man who discards religion because we are so much in the dark, and who smiles at the simplicity of Christian faith, might be expected to judge religion by its fruits. No doubt these fruits are not all wholesome, but as undoubtedly religion has accomplished an amount of good which nothing else has or can. An American writer of distinction, a literary man and a statesman, in no way pledged to Christianity, has the following: "The worst kind of religion is no religion at all; and those men who live in ease and luxury, indulging themselves in the amusement of going without religion, may be thankful that they live in lands where the Gospel they neglect has tamed the beastliness and ferocity of the men who, but for Christianity, might long ago have eaten their bodies like the South Sea Islanders, or cut off their heads and tanned their hides like the monsters of the French Revolution. When the microscopic search of scepticism which has hunted the heavens and sounded the seas to disprove the existence of a Creator, has turned its attention to human society, and has found a place on this planet, ten miles square, where a decent man can live in decency, comfort, and security, supporting and educating his children, unspoiled and unpolluted; a place where age is revered, infancy respected and protected, manhood respected, womanhood honoured, and human life held in due regard—when sceptics can find such a place, ten miles square, on this globe, where the Gospel of Christ has not gone and cleared the way, and laid the foundations, and made decency and security possible, it will then be in order for the sceptical literati to move thither and ventilate their views. But so long as these very men are dependent on the religion which they discard for every privilege they enjoy, they may well hesitate a little before they seek to rob the Christian of his hope, and humanity of its faith in that Saviour who alone has given to man that hope of life eternal which makes life tolerable and society possible, and robs death of its terrors and the grave of its gloom."

When Nelson was resolved to fight he put his glass

to his blind eye and could not see the signal for retiring; and there are persons who refuse to see the very revelation of Himself which God has given because of our natural inability to discover Him. So long as we refuse to look at Christ we may truly say we see little to persuade us to be religious, little evidence of a God we can worship. But in Christ we do find a God before whom reason, conscience, heart alike bow and claim as our Supreme. In Christ we have the God who is past finding out made intelligible, manifest in the flesh. In Christ we find what proclaims itself divine, a God in whom we see that infinite greatness is infinite capacity of love and service, a God who applies His resources without stint to the actual needs of His creatures, and finds in their guilty entanglements and hopeless misery but a fit field for the ampler operation of His love; who teaches us by actual demonstration that it is more blessed to give than to receive. In Christ we see that which makes religion possible, inevitable, reasonable, and full of blessedness.

LIBERALISM AND ROMAN CATHOLICISM.*

BY REV. BROOKE HERFORD, D.D.

From *The Christian Register* (Boston), October 24, 1895.

IN TWO PARTS.

PART II.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM AND TRUTH.

BUT this discrepancy, between the Catholic eulogies of liberty in Protestant countries, and both its permanent claims and its practice in countries where it is in power, touches a great deal more than the question of liberty. It concerns very closely the attitude of Catholicism in regard to truth.

* The full text of Dr. Herford's lecture, of which this abstract presents about two-thirds, may be had in pamphlet form of Geo. H. Ellis, 141 Franklin Street, Boston. Price, ten cents.

It is one of the strong points made by Catholics that, alone of all religious bodies, they have absolute, reliable, unchanging truth. The ordinary Protestant reliance on the Bible they treat as mere delusion. The reliance on the individual reason and conscience, which Liberals regard as the ultimate ground of belief, they ridicule as a mere *ignis fatuus* leading men only into bogs of doubt or cloud-lands of speculation. No! To the longing of the common heart for some clear truth Catholics reply that they alone have truth. That which the pope pronounces, *ex cathedra*, to be truth, that must infallibly be so. Thus on the matter of truth they claim to be before all others.

And yet how far does this go—even if it were so—into the deep reality of truth? Truth, in the deepest fact of it, is a spirit in the heart, not a mere statement about some external thing. At least, it must be first a spirit in the heart,—the spirit that reverences the fact as it is. It must reverence the fact close by; and so it shall grow into the faculty which reaches out and has a chance of apprehending the further fact, say, of ages past, or of realms and worlds outside our personal ken and knowledge. So a man's deepest relation to truth is determined not by his having some special source of information about heavenly things, and submitting his own thinking to that, but by his having a clear open eye to the fact of things close about him, and standing by that fact, and refusing to say or do anything at variance with that. Now, this spirit of truth is a very great thing, far more important to the life of man than any list of alleged truths. When Paul Dudley ordained a lecture for exposing not only the "tyranny and usurpation" of the Romish Church, but also its "heresies" and "fatal errors," he probably had in his mind some of its doctrines about divine and future things. The world has gone forward since then. It has become sceptical as to any church having special information about those more distant verities. Certainly, the only religious teachers who will win much attention to their claims of divine truth are such as are palpably trustworthy in the matter of

human truth, honest and straightforward and sincere in all the common dealings and relations of life. Now, in all this—and I speak no mere opinion of my own, but what I know to be the misgiving of even the most liberal and friendly observers—the Catholic priesthood seems curiously weak. It has elevated mental reservation and evasion into a system, so that the world is always puzzled how far to receive Catholic assurances and declarations at their "face value." It officially sanctions such misrepresentations of history as its own best scholars are ashamed of; and even in regard to the most sacred matters of faith it admits pious frauds such as no other church in Christendom would allow for a moment.

Let me give an illustration or two. It is not without significance that two of the most disliked expressions, for subtle double-dealing and for skilful reasoning apart from any real truth,—"*Jesuitical*" and "*casuistry*,"—have grown up from one of the chief orders of Catholicism and from one of its chief methods of reasoning. I have been struck with this; that, even from the best outside friends and admirers of Catholicism, it is almost impossible to obtain any clear answer when you ask them what they believe to be the truth about the charge that Catholicism teaches that faith need not be kept with heretics. As for history, Catholic history strikes the average mind about as railroad geography does. Every one knows how the railroad companies, in those neat little maps which illustrate their folders, represent their own lines by broad straight lines from end to end, while rival railways are either left out altogether or put in thin and devious lines, as if of no account. Yes, that makes very pretty maps; but it is not geography! It is about the same with Catholic history. Of course there have been real Catholic historians, who have written fairly even about such subjects as the Reformation; but, take the histories which are specially written and officially recommended for Catholic education, and the comparison of the railroad folder-map is none too strong. Everything is right. The line is perfectly straight. The

trouble is it is a little too straight. You find Luther represented simply as an ambitious, turbulent, and vain hypocrite, whose protest against indulgences was due to his anger at their sale not being given to his own "Augustinian" order, but to the Dominicans; while Tetzel was a learned and excellent man, whose success in their sale was due "to the faith and devotion of the people," and whose masterly defence of them was burned at Wittemberg simply out of dislike of free speech. You find the enormities of the Inquisition explained away as the excesses of individual Catholics, but which the Church disowns. You find the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day explained away as a merely political uprising of loyal Frenchmen, with which religion had nothing to do; and the medal and *Te Deum* with which Pope Gregory XIII. had it celebrated at Rome were in thanksgiving not for the massacre, of which he was kept ignorant, but for the preservation of the French king from death and of the French nation from the horrors of a civil war. If any one would study in closer detail the minor untruthfulness of exaggeration and suppression with which Catholic school-books abound, he will find a curious collection of them in Edwin D. Mead's pamphlet on "The Roman Catholic Church and the Public Schools." Mr. Mead is well known as one of the fairest of American writers, and by no means sparing in his exposure of the meannesses and persecutions perpetrated by Protestantism; but, as he points out, there is no denial or suppression of these things in Protestant histories. They are recorded and deplored as the blots upon times when no church understood freedom or Christianity. But Catholicism cannot admit that it has had anything to mend or learn. Its misrepresentations in this direction are such as are entirely without parallel among other religious bodies, except to some extent among some of its Ritualist imitators. Nearly all the valuable inventions of the world are summed up as "due to Catholics." The Holy See has been "God's instrument in conferring upon Europe all the real good she enjoys." Much is said

about the Salem witch trials, but nothing about the incomparably greater numbers put to death for witchcraft in Catholic countries; and, perhaps, the climax is in this choice summing up of the comparative history of Catholicism and Protestantism by Bishop Gilmour: "To make converts, Catholicity has ever appealed to reason; Protestantism, like Mohammedanism, to force and violence!" No wonder Mr. Mead winds up his examination with the pregnant verdict: "This is not history."

[Dr. Herford then gave a number of illustrations derived from personal observation and Roman Catholic Records concerning the absence of truthfulness.]

THE INSTITUTION MORE THAN THE SOUL.

Perhaps it may seem hard measure to argue against an institution from such acts of individuals. There is no church but has among its clergy some less worthy than others; some, perhaps, against whom things as tricky or as unfeeling might be told. But these things I have quoted, out of my own personal knowledge, have been official acts; and I know too well from others, whose experience has been like my own, that they are no extreme exceptions. They are not illustrations of what unworthy men may do in the name of the claims of Rome, but of what those claims lead to even in average men, in lowering the standard of natural truth and right.

Indeed, I think it all comes back to this: that, in Catholicism, the institution, exaggerated by these tremendous claims, has come to be so much more than the soul or spirit of it. I think, indeed, that this is felt by many of its own adherents. Even those who are entirely loyal to it constantly excuse, as necessary for the Church, actions and requirements which in themselves they cannot defend. I am not the only Protestant who has had considerable money intrusted to him by poor Catholics. The first time, I wanted to decline such a trust. "Why don't you place it with your own priest?" He is a very good man, isn't he?" "Oh, yes," was the eager reply. "He is a *very* good

man, but still I would rather you took care of it for me. You see, if anything happened to me while I am gone, I know you would give it to my people all right." "Well," I said, "wouldn't Father — do the same?" "Well, I don't know;" and, after a pause, "Maybe he'd be wanting it for the Church."

The same kind of feeling is constantly coming out with regard to the Public Schools. You seldom hear any of the Catholic parents speak against the parochial schools,—"the Sisters' schools," as they call them. When they speak of them at all, it is usually as institutions which, "of course, are quite right," "of course the Church ought to have them," and so forth; but, all the same, every one who has had much to do with the Catholic poor in American cities knows perfectly well that they greatly prefer to have their children go to the public schools. They do not want them brought up apart. Before all things, they want them to grow up American citizens. When a Catholic school is opened in a dense district, at first numbers of the Catholic children are withdrawn from the public school, and swept into the Sisters' school. But, after a while, you as constantly hear that many of the children are one by one, some on one excuse, some on another, finding their way back to the old institution,—the school of the people. Only by the strongest appeals through pulpit and confessional, and by threats of withholding the sacraments, are the specially Catholic schools kept up in any strength.

And so it is in many things. The institution overrides freedom, overrides the parent. At times it comes out with the most eloquent pleas for freedom; but they are always qualified by that claim of the Church to obedience in every matter which comes within the range of its authority,—a range of which itself is the sole judge. So it has at times put forward the most plain-spoken and unmistakable claims for parental rights in choosing the education of their children. "By the law of nature," says Cardinal Manning, "fathers and mothers have the guardianship of their own children;" and, again, "Parents have the right

to control the education of their children." But, when this comes to be interpreted, it turns out to be simply a plea not for parents to obey their own judgment, but to obey their priests.

Thus, while there is so much that is beautiful and admirable in Catholicism,—in its venerable services, in its frequent heroism in dark ages, in the spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice which it wins from its votaries,—yet the whole free life of man is overweighed and dominated by the *organization* to an extent unknown in any other church in Christendom. This is the conviction not of the enemies of Catholicism, but even of those who are most friendly, and most desire to see the Catholic Church take its true place among the helpful institutions of the world. There have been few men more appreciative of all religious institutions, more fair and kindly in criticising them, than James Freeman Clarke; and this is his testimony: "All the evils of the Roman Catholic Church have come from this source [the organization of the Church being set above the religion of the Church]. It has made conformity to its ceremonies, submission to its authority, the essential thing. Hence its persecutions, its Inquisition, its resisting truth, its arrogant claims, its desire for wealth, its lust of power, its insatiate ambition." And Edward Everett Hale, writing to me of the Roman hierarchy, says: "They have never made the world believe that they regard truth first, second, and last. They have made the world believe that they regard the Church as first, second, and last."

Do I say all this in any spirit of hostility? Not for a moment. There is need, in this confused and doubting and struggling modern life, for all the forms and ways in which the great spirit of Christianity has embodied itself among men. If any one would see how great—to the simple student of history and of man—may seem the work that the Catholic Church has done, and might still do, let him read the essay of James Darmesteter, the Jew, on "The Religions of the Future," and the possible destiny of the Catholic Church, if this "admirable instrument of unity and

propaganda," as he calls it, could rise to its true height. "If the Church misses its opportunity," he says, in closing, "if, in the name of an immutability which is simply a fiction of dogma, contradicted by its history from the very beginning, it opposes the summons of the future with a *non possumus*, the necessary work will be done otherwise and with greater difficulty."

It is in that spirit that the best modern Liberalism owns the possibilities of the Catholic Church as a venerable and marvellous human institution. But the same Liberalism just as earnestly and emphatically rejects its fatal claim of being the one only divine institution, the infallible representative of God. It is a claim which has all along been fatal to the highest spirit of truth, and the fancied authority of which has encouraged tyranny and spiritual oppression. Whether the needed reform is possible, who can tell? But, meanwhile, not its enemies, but its best well-wishers, are those who would try to clear it from such exceptional and tremendous claims, and to set it free, in wholesome human liberty and in frank and manly truth, to do its part in the further religious development of man.

THE PULPIT AND SOCIAL REFORM.

BY WASHINGTON GLADDEN, D.D.

From *The Christian Advocate* (New York), October 3, 1895.

II.

IN a previous paper I have argued that while the Church, as an organization, in dealing with social questions, should confine itself to the declaration of Christian principles, and should not undertake to fashion or operate the political or industrial machinery, the pulpit should be free to discuss these principles in concrete form, and to show their actual working in the life of the community. It may be well to consider with some care what the fundamental teachings of the pulpit should be concerning social morality.

That the law of Christ is the foundation of society may be accepted as the Christian doctrine ; but we find ourselves at once confronted with a dispute as to what is the law of Christ. It seems a little strange that there should be, at the end of the nineteenth century, a radical difference of opinion among good men as to the substance of the Christian morality, but such is the case.

It has generally been supposed that Christ's summary of the second table of the Decalogue, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," was the fundamental law of society. But it is now said that this is the summary of the Jewish law ; that it is not the Christian law. It seems to me that it is, to say the least, a transfiguration, rather than a summary, of the Jewish morality. The change from the negative to the positive form is itself a revolution, and the good will toward persons for which it calls is a radically different thing from that restraint of evil wills which constitutes the old legislation. It may be said that the words of Christ's command are found in the Jewish law ; but even here the meaning is completely changed, as Jesus himself has taught us. "Neighbor" in that old legislation had a very narrow meaning ; it included no Gentile ; and the obligations of morality were not supposed to extend to people of other races. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy" was, as Jesus tells us, the force of the Levitical law. By His new definition of the word "neighbor" He changed an ethnic morality into a universal morality. The moral revolution caused by this definition was not less comprehensive than that which occurred in men's ideas of astronomy when the Copernican system was substituted for the Ptolemaic. I am not, therefore, willing to admit that Christ's law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," is merely a restatement of the Levitical morality.

But it is urged that this law, which enjoins a rational self-love and makes it the equivalent of love for our neighbor, is not, after all, the true Christian law ; that the principle of this law is entire self-abnegation and

sacrifice ; that Christianity in its essence is pure altruism ; that Christ's example, as well as the drift of His teaching, place before us this rule of unqualified self-denial as the only rule of life.

Here, now, is a very serious difficulty. I am by no means inclined to dogmatize about it ; the opinions of good men who adhere to the view which I have just stated command my profound respect. It is a subject which calls for careful thinking. Surely we ought to know, beyond all possibility of questioning, what is the fundamental principle of Christian morality. Not only our personal conduct, but our whole social structure, will depend on our answer to this question. To those who accept Christ as Master the theory of socialism will stand or fall by our interpretation of His law. If pure altruism is what Christ enjoins, then it is, at least, probable that the socialistic program marks the direction of the progress of His kingdom, while if His law coordinates a rational self-love with the love of our neighbor, and recognizes the self-regarding virtues as equally essential in the Christian character with the virtues of benevolence and sacrifice, then the Christian society will rest upon other foundations and assume other forms ; private property and individual initiative will be preserved and combined with a large measure of social coöperation.

I need not emphasize the immense importance of this question. It is one which demands the patient attention of every Christian thinker.

For myself, although I speak with much reserve, I must say that the older interpretation of Christ's law seems to me the truer ; and that a genuine self-regard appears to me to be as truly enjoined by Christ as is self-sacrifice. The contrary arguments impress me, but they have not yet convinced me. "Once for all," says a recent suggestive writer, "let us repudiate the heresy, far more dangerous and pernicious than any alleged vagaries of 'higher criticism' or 'larger hope,' that the individual may to any least degree live for himself in competition with others. Waiving the question whether, under the new dispensation, we are

taught to love others better than ourselves, let us accept the old commandment. I must love my neighbor A as myself; I must love B, C, and D as myself. Every man is my neighbor—there is no drawing the line. Every sentient creature is my neighbor, and makes his legitimate appeal. Granted the claims of myself upon myself, I am but one among countless millions, each with his divinely sanctioned claim—millions not only of this age, but of all the ages to come; for I am a maker of destinies. Relatively my private claim is a vanishing point."* But, on the other hand, this law reads backward as well as forward. I must love myself as my neighbor, and for the same reason; I, not less than he, am a child of God. I must love myself, therefore, as I love A; I must love myself as I love B, C, and D; I must love myself as I love all those countless millions present and future. The accumulation of self-regard would seem to be ample under this law. The *reductio ad absurdum* only serves, however, to show the folly of applying to the spiritual life the laws of a quantitative logic.

When this writer declares it to be a heresy "that the individual may to any least degree live for himself *in competition with others*," I may, indeed, assent, provided the italicized words are sharply defined. To sacrifice others in the least degree to my own greed or ambition is the spirit of antichrist. But the virtues of honor and manliness and self-respect and self-reliance are, as I believe, Christian virtues; and it seems to me that it is only the man who has a high and strong regard for his own character and personality who can have any true conception of the worth of his neighbor's character and personality. I do not know where a man can learn how precious a thing the human soul is unless he learns it in his own experience. The sense of the sacredness of character can only come to him in his struggles for the perfection of his own character. In learning this lesson he is preparing to help his neighbor to find the path to manhood. But he must himself go forward in that path, saying, "Come!"

* The Law of Service, pages 5, 6.

The identification of the individual with his fellows seems to me to be the Christian principle; and this is something very different from the suppression or the extinction of individuality. If I do not maintain my own integrity, I shall not be able to understand how important it is that my neighbor should maintain his integrity; and my compassion toward him will often become a weak indulgence that helps to ungird his manhood. Indeed, it seems to me that the exaltation of pure altruism springs largely from the habit of fixing the attention upon conditions of comfort or of suffering—upon the pleasures or the pains of our fellow-men—forgetting that our main concern with them is not to save them from pain, but from moral degradation.

If, now, the Christian law emphasizes the maintenance of the spiritual integrity of the individual, and makes that a virtue equal in rank to the exercise of benevolence, then it is clear that we must have such an organization of society as shall give free play to the virtues of self-respect and self-reliance, which shall put squarely upon the individual the responsibility for his own welfare. The form of the social structure for which, as Christians, we shall strive will depend on the interpretation which we put upon Christ's law.

Dr. Herron, in his latest book, *The Christian State*, says: "If I am my brother's keeper as a religious man, I am equally my brother's keeper as an economic or political man, bound to make my place of business and the nation of which I am a member each the keeper of my brother. If there is a divine law of service that compels me to seek work for my brother, that he may earn bread, then that law is equally authoritative when men act collectively as a state; and the state, as a moral being and as a social organ, is bound to procure work by which its citizens may find bread."

Passing by the question whether an individual obligation of charity can be handed over intact to such a corporate personality as the state, whether there are not elements here which do not admit of any such transfer, let us see just what this means. Is there a divine law which compels me to seek work for my

brother in such a way that he shall be relieved of the necessity of seeking work for himself? Upon whom rests the chief responsibility of finding work for him—upon me or upon him? It is my duty and privilege to help him as I may be able; has he a right to sit still and wait for me to find him work? Would it be good for him to permit him to become in this way a dependent on me for the means of livelihood? Does the Christian law encourage this kind of dependence? If not, and if, according to Dr. Herron, the obligation of the individual in such a case is precisely the same as that of the state, then it is not clear that "the state, as a moral being and as a social organ, is bound to procure work by which its citizens may find bread." I think that the proposition to establish such relations of dependence, and thus to vacate life of its chief responsibilities, is not in harmony with the Christian law.

It is plain that here are questions upon which those of us who preach the law of Christ need to get clear ideas. I am far from claiming infallibility for my own interpretations; I am no more than a disciple who wishes to understand the meaning of the Master's word. But if we propose to organize society upon Christ's law, then it is of tremendous importance that we give to that law the right interpretation.

THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY AND IN THE SEMINARY.

BY THE REV. A. M. FAIRBAIRN, D.D.

From *The Outlook* (New York), November 9, 1895.

ONE point in connection with the American universities I was unable to glance at in my previous paper,* which is yet to myself the point of most living interest—their relation to theology and theological institutions. It may seem a rash and froward thing in me to touch so sensitive a subject, but one who can honestly say, "he loves much," may hope to have much forgiven.

* See *The Outlook* for August 17 last.

It will not, I am sure, be taken as in itself an impertinence that an English theologian should write on theological colleges in America. It is necessary for the common weal of the realm over which theology reigns that the scholars and thinkers who minister to her in our two countries should be drawn more closely together. Our interests are alike ; our mental habitudes are, amid many minor differences, yet akin ; our genius for religion is the same ; the problems we have to solve are as nearly as possible identical, though the stages we have reached in the process of solution may be somewhat different. American scholars and divines are well known on our side, their books are reviewed in our periodicals as if they were our own, and our theologians may be described as naturalized citizens in the free trans-Atlantic republic of divinity. This community of interests and thought is well represented by the international libraries of the Post-Nicene Fathers, of the Biblical commentaries, and of theology, and by the association of two distinguished American scholars with one distinguished Oxford scholar in the New Hebrew Lexicon. But these examples of our capability for mutual service should be regarded as prophecies of what ought to be rather than as signs of a state of things with which we can be happily content.

The greater theological seminaries in America are admirably organized and equipped, indeed much better than the great body of our English colleges. But one thing strikes me greatly—the degree in which they have lived and worked under German influences. This is seen not only in the distribution of their subjects and the co-ordination of their chairs, but in the attraction of Germany for their students and the extraordinary number of their scholars and teachers who have studied in German universities. Now, this is a perfectly explicable thing, indeed one quite natural and even necessary. Germany has been incontestably the pioneer in theological scholarship and method ; she is, as it were, the professor at whose feet we have all sat, from whose patient search for truth, from whose laborious digging at the foundations and careful sifting

of good building material from bad, we have all learned and all profited. Of her and her work it was simply impossible that any theologian or any church could afford to be ignorant. Then, too, it was well that the student who could afford to spend a year or two abroad should feel that he could spend it to better purpose in a country where another than his own tongue was spoken, and at the feet of scholars whose method he could thoroughly learn only from their own lips. And this is a feeling whose truth experience has amply justified. But, on the other side, this has to be said: the German influence is one that needs in many cases to be qualified and new-conditioned. Theological questions in Germany are largely the property of the chair; in Great Britain and America they are also the problems of the people. In Germany theology is often a thing apart from religion, but the very soul of religion lies in our theology. And this gives to it a quick and sensitive being, a livingness, as it were, which makes our ways often an astonishment to the German professor, who seldom conceals his scorn for a theology which speaks *ad populum*, just as if it were learning coquetting with ignorance. But it is a wholesome and helpful thing for theology to feel that all its questions live, move, and have their being in religion. This is a point which England and America have in common, and I, for my part, believe that, with adequate science and method, our standpoint will enable us to accomplish better and higher things than German scholarship has achieved. And there are signs that the day for this is not far distant. We have, on both sides of the Atlantic, begun to produce books that rival the best German in learning, and surpass them in sobriety of judgment and sagacity of mind. For one thing theology with us cannot afford to become, what it is almost wholly to-day in Germany, a historical and critical science, but must remain positive, constructive, dealing with its problems as questions in living thought and belief. To keep it this is the common interest and ought to be the combined work of our people in all their branches and in all their homes.

But all this is somewhat aside from our theme, though not quite so much aside as it may seem. A strong foreign influence may be altogether excellent if conditioned and qualified by potent native agencies ; but the remarkable thing is the comparative isolation of theological from general education. The university and the seminary dwell too much apart. Of course there are illustrious exceptions which will spring to every man's tongue. Harvard, Yale, and Princeton owe not a little of the fame they have throughout the learned world to the work done in their divinity schools. But, as a rule (exceptions are too rare to need to be specified), the newer universities recognize and encourage almost every subject save theology, and the seminaries seem inclined to cultivate an independence which appears to say that they owe no service to the university and can receive none from it. As a result both are injured. The universities suffer ; they represent an incomplete curriculum, a broken cycle of science. They have nothing to say as to the ideas and institutions, the societies and beliefs, that have been the most potent factors of our civilization. They know nothing of the literature which has been the agency that has done most to form the modern mind ; and without which no single modern literature can be understood. They shut out from history its most characteristic section ; they cut off philosophy from those relations which give to it all its meaning and most of its interest ; and they impoverish their philology by withdrawing themselves from languages which they ought to study, or from important periods in the history and literature of languages they already cultivate. Then, too, the professors and students of the sciences they recognize are injured. They live, as it were, in a maimed and bisected intellectual world, and so lose the sense of proportion, or the relative value of things. Their academic becomes their rational and intelligible world ; within it is knowledge, beyond it lies the region of beliefs that cannot bear the light. And so the modern superstition which regards the physical and experimental sciences as the whole of knowledge

is fostered, and the chance of viewing mind and man as a whole is lost at a point which makes its later recovery singularly difficult. And this policy of exclusion is made the more anomalous in that the higher education in America has been so largely the creation of religious men and motives. Indeed, there is no country in the world where the university is so distinctly the child of the Church, or where the religious man is so uniformly conceived to be the fit man for the highest academic office. This is not said either in compliment or from conjecture, but after a careful review and analysis of the most typical universities, both earlier and later.

But if the university suffers from the exclusion of theology, the seminary suffers still more by isolation from the university. It is bad for the studies, and is not good for the men. Theology loses half its significance when studied out of relation to the other sciences or departments of knowledge. It is when it knows the minds it has to convince and persuade that it will be most reasonable and most potent. It will learn to investigate, discriminate, and construct all the better that it sees the methods, the principles, and the limits of all the sciences. There is nothing that so prevents a possible turning into an actual enemy as living face to face with him as a neighbor. Isolation means alienation; sectional studies produce estranged students. Religious men have often feared that contact with the secular sciences might secularize theology; it would have been worthier of them to believe that contact with theology would spiritualize the secular sciences. If they acted so in the world, would they ever transact business or mingle in society? If they acted so in the Church, what would they be but selfish cowards, mean men who had mistaken themselves for saints? The only man fit to be a modern theologian is the man able to speak amid criticism; and he is best placed where he feels he can and will be criticised. As things now are, he must be a specialist, and the need for specialism grows more and more; but he ought to be a specialist who is daily forced to rub against other minds

and other inquiries than his own. Indeed, it seems to me as if the most serious dangers which religious thought in America has to fear spring from the enforced seclusion of many seminaries, some of them most influential. It is tending to divorce the mind of the ministry and the Church from all contact with reality, from their legitimate share in the intellectual life and interests of to-day. There is no man that seclusion so injures as the theological student. If he is ever to know himself, he must know other men; and if he is ever to know men, he must learn while he and they are being educated together. But to be associated only with those who are in kind, quality, and destiny like himself, is to have no chance of ever knowing men. What happens is that he falls into the order of those who were apostolically described as "measuring themselves by themselves, and comparing themselves among themselves," and thus, by coming wholly to "commend themselves," cease to be "wise."

How this mutual isolation of university and seminary is to be ended is a hard problem, needing more knowledge and wisdom and statesmanship than any occasional visitor to the United States can command. But it is evident that the first step is to create in each the sense of need for the other; and this paper may be regarded as a small contribution to this large end. It is easy to see how enormously the universities would profit were there some safe and sagacious method by which they could attract and bring into some kind of organic relation with themselves important institutions of learning cultivating subjects which they do not teach, manned by competent men, attended by earnest students, and connected with those churches or societies which are great intellectual and ethical forces working for the amelioration and refinement of the community. Were it possible to bring into federal relations with the local university and into reciprocal service to each other such seminaries as could be grouped together in New York, Cambridge, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Chicago, Ann Arbor, and Minneapolis, the result would be the rise of schools of theological

learning that would in equipment and potentiality exceed anything known in the Old World. And it is no less easy to see how the seminaries would profit were they taken from amid surroundings frequently monotonous and even depressing, and placed in centers of intellectual activity and stimulus. Every subject and chair and student would feel the change; sap would move along the withered roots, run up the starved trunks, swell out and refresh the shriveled blossoms. The professors would cease to be a little coterie, ever breathing and rebreathing the same exhausted atmosphere, and become members of a society whose interests were many, whose life was rich, and whose thought was varied. The students would lose the narrowness, or, what is worse, the priggishness, of those whose main training for their profession was discipline in professionalism. And the churches would feel that their ministers came to them rather with the status of the university than of the seminary, and would have a corresponding respect for the institution from which they came.

It is possible, of course, that some of the newer universities may yet see their way to the creation of theological faculties. This may be only the vain dream of a mere outsider; but some of the conditions of realization seem to exist. The unity between the great Protestant bodies is such that it ought not to be past the wit of man to constitute a faculty whose curriculum they would accept or recognize. In all these churches are men trained in other colleges and seminaries than those of their own denomination—which seems to signify that on the score of both principle and practice there need be no insuperable difficulty with candidates whose Alma Mater was a university rather than a sectional school. And if this is ever accomplished, the universities which do it will render a greater service to the American people than they have as yet the power or even the promise of doing.

END OF THE UNITY MOVEMENT.

LAST LETTERS BETWEEN THE PRESBYTERIAN AND EPISCOPAL COMMISSIONS.

From *The Independent* (New York), November 7, 1895.

THE following is the closing correspondence between the Presbyterian and Episcopal Commissioners on Unity.

LETTER OF DR. ROBERTS.

PHILADELPHIA, PENN., September 25th, 1895.

TO THE RT. REV. A. CLEVELAND COXE, D.D. Bishop of Western New York, Chairman of the Commission on Church Unity of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Rt. Rev. and dear Brother:—Your letter of April 25th, 1895, acknowledging the receipt of our communication containing the action of our General Assembly touching mutual recognition and reciprocity, has been received. We greatly regret to learn from it that you and your brethren on the Commission regard the action of our Assembly as equivalent to the expression of a desire on its part that all negotiations between us should cease. Such we can authoritatively say was not the intention. The Assembly desires that the negotiations should continue, and result, if not in an organic union of the two Churches, at least in closer relations, hearty co-operation in the work of the Lord, and even a federation for that work, and will regret exceeding if there should be a failure in reaching these highly desirable ends. But the Assembly believes that the mutual recognition and reciprocity which now prevail between the great majority of the Evangelical Churches of Christendom should be explicitly accepted also by your Church. At the time of our appointment, in 1887, our General Assembly affirmed that such mutual recognition and reciprocity was "the first and essential step toward practical Church unity." We so informed you in the beginning of our negotiations; but you responded in substance that you were not then authorized to consider the matter. Your language was: "Our authority at present extends only to a search for the basis of unity." "The question of reciprocity is one that will probably be for consideration as a tentative measure in the course of our further negotiations." We again directed your attention to the importance of the question by a proposition for an exchange of pulpits. Receiving from the Chairman of your Commission a communication to the effect that you could not negotiate on that subject, without authority from your General Convention, our General Assembly instructed us to suspend the correspondence until your Commission should secure from your General Convention such authority. This, we repeat, was not the prompting of a desire to end the correspondence, but an expression of the importance of the doctrine of mutual recognition and reciprocity. Our General Assembly did not direct the cessation of correspondence, but only its suspension. We

trust that your General Convention will take such action as will leave open the door to future correspondence, and that such correspondence will lead to the happiest results.

Personally the brotherly conferences in which we have been engaged have brought to us their own reward. We have learned to know and love each other as brethren, and to rejoice in the recognition of each other's gifts and graces, as we have taken sweet counsel together, and talked one to another of the things pertaining to the King. Our hours of communion with your dear brethren, we will ever recall with delight, and cherish their memory as blessed preludes to that unbroken communion we hope soon to enjoy with you in the Father's house above. Allow us to again express the earnest desire that nothing which has recently occurred may interrupt our earnest and continued efforts to bring the Churches we respectively represent into closer fellowship and ultimate union with each other.

In behalf of the Committee on Christian Unity of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

W. H. ROBERTS.

REPLY OF BISHOP COXE.

TO THE REV. DR. ROBERTS, etc., Philadelphia.

Rev. and dear Sir:—In acknowledging your kind communication of September 25th, the receipt of which I have already announced by private letter, I congratulate myself that, our General Convention being now in session, one great obstacle in our fraternal interchanges is removed. For three years we have been obliged to repeat the explanation of our difficulties, in replying to your polite letters arising from delays on our part, while your corresponding legislature, the General Assembly, has enjoyed more frequent opportunities of giving instructions to your venerated committee and of receiving reports.

What our General Convention may resolve touching the facts we now lay before them will be duly communicated by our Secretary at the conclusion of the sessions. For the present I perform the duty of presenting, at their request, the views of our commission, as they will be embodied in our report.

We are glad to be informed officially that it was not the intention of the General Assembly to put an end to further communications between us; and we heartily respond to the desire that they may be continued with favorable results.

This assurance, however, would be of greater importance practically were it not somewhat modified when you add the words: "But the Assembly believes that the mutual recognition of reciprocity which now prevails between the great majority of Evangelical Churches of Christendom should be explicitly accepted also by your Church."

Our authority, as we have previously stated, extends only at present to the furthering of a search for a basis of unity under the four conditions recognized in the "Lambeth Quadrilateral" [so called]. The definition of "reciprocity" thus emphatically made gives grave significance, in our opinion, to two paragraphs which state the action of your General Assembly upon your reports to that reverend and honorable body. We quote them as follows:

I.

"In view of this history thus briefly sketched, your committee believes that the correspondence with the Protestant Episcopal Commission should be suspended until action is taken upon our proposition concerning reciprocity by the General Convention. We recommend, therefore, the following action :

II.

"The General Assembly, on the request of its committee, directs it to suspend further correspondence with the Protestant Episcopal Commission until that commission secures from its General Convention instructions to accept and act upon the doctrine of mutual recognition and reciprocity."—"Minutes of the General Assembly," *Anno Domini*, 1894, p. 25 ; *ibid.* p. 29.

It thus appears that this positive action of the Assembly was taken "on the request of its committee." In your present polite letter you express the trust that our General Convention "will take such action as will leave open the door to future correspondence." In other words, this door is effectually closed until we comply with the demand which seems to us to substitute for the fourth Lambeth proposition an entirely new condition, one which, in the present stage of our conference, is a condition not only inconsistent with, but in fact subversive of its purpose and its spirit.

Its spirit, let me remind our Christian brethren of the committee, is the enforcement of our Lord's own conception of unity among his followers expressed in his grand Mediatorial Intercession on the night before he suffered. His followers were to be one, not in a social or sentimental unity like the friendships between good men, but in unity like that, in which he could say "I and my Father are one." Such unity he made the prerequisite of universal evangelization. Our belief, therefore, is that modern missions to the heathen will be comparatively unfruitful till the unhappy divisions of true disciples of Christ are effectually healed. Not until then, it follows from the Master's language, will the world believe in the divine mission of the incarnate Word.

Such being the spirit of the Lambeth propositions, our purpose was to reanimate true Christians to renewed efforts for the restoration of primitive unity as described in Holy Scriptures—a unity of common sacraments and prayers, the common creed, and the apostolic fellowship. We did not make any demand for unity with us as a local church ; we called attention to the importance of conformity to the standards of "first faith," "first love," and "first works," prescribed by our Lord himself to the churches of Asia. We recognize many things to be amended in ourselves, and much to be admired and imitated in others ; but it is by converging lines directed to this common point, from which we have all more or less departed, that we may meet at last. Were we striving for our own aggrandizement, or for principles peculiar to ourselves, we could expect no blessing upon our endeavors. We stated nothing of the kind ; we have cited only the scriptural prescription of the Christian Church, once universally accepted. He who will not "hear the Church" makes himself as a heathen man and a publican. We aim for ourselves to escape this condemnation by con-

formity to the great principles in which true believers once confronted a hostile world in one communion and fellowship.

With brethren so greatly honored as those whom we now address through your Committee, it would be an impertinence to speak ambiguously on interests so sacred, involving the propagation of the Gospel for millions of unevangelized men. To conceal in any respect our convictions of truth would be unworthy of ourselves. We do not write as diplomatists; we would be slow to imagine ourselves affronted, and we are most anxious not to give offense; but we cannot accept what is specified *in limine* as the "open door" to further negotiations. Instead of the Historic Episcopate you would substitute "the mutual recognition and reciprocity which now prevail between the great majority of Evangelical Churches of Christendom." Of this sort of unity "an exchange of pulpits" is suggested to us as the outward and visible sign. We must frankly confess that this is the unreal and delusive idea of unity which permits divisions to be multiplied without end, and which we had supposed both your Committee and our Commission were fraternally endeavoring to correct.

Great have been our hopes that our Presbyterian brethren were awakening to the fact that we and they were originally one family in the Reformed Church of England; that the history of the Anglo-Saxon race is our common history, and that all things in our existing circumstances and relations to our beloved country invite us to set an example of restored unity, and of united effort for the propagation of the blessed Gospel among our own countrymen and in all the world. In three points of the "Lambeth Quadrilateral" [so-called] we are supposed to coincide; it is the fourth which we are now called upon to surrender if our communications are to be continued.

Have our Presbyterian brethren forgotten that they themselves, so long ago as in A.D. 1660, pronounced the reformed Episcopate, as we have done, to be the most practical step toward a reunion of Christendom, if ever such a blessing might be regained? They then declared that Presbyterian principles do not conflict with such an Episcopate as that of the Anglican Church, but only require the admission of presbyters and laymen to a share in synodical legislation. Was it not reasonable in us to expect the Presbyterians would be the first among American Christians to join us in support of a principle to which they are themselves historically committed? Can anything be conceived of as more likely to make the Gospel, in all its practical influences, triumphant throughout this land, than such an example of healing a breach, and "restoring paths to dwell in"? Our Commission is united in the conviction that for the present, and until Providence sets before us an "open door" for a resumption of our conferences, it is proper for us to accept the action of the Assembly [made "on the request of its Committee"] that such conferences should be suspended, but only for the present.

We know that you will join us in prayers to God for a speedy renewal of our fraternal relations. On our part, we shall pray for forgiveness, if by any fault of our own the proposals of Richard Baxter and his brethren in 1660, were relegated to a suspension, which for two centuries has perpetuated a melancholy division among Christians who are so truly described in the scriptural phrase, "Sirs, ye are brethren."

"Brethren" we are, whose united forces might have accomplished

most glorious results for mankind; whose discords have brought reproach upon the Gospel of Christ.

Believe me, Reverend and dear Brother, that our Commission returns this reply with no feelings of diminished Christian regard for your Committee, and I am personally your obliged friend and brother in Christ.

A. CLEVELAND COXE, Chairman, etc.

MINNEAPOLIS, October 11th, 1895.

This correspondence was presented to the Episcopal General Convention at Minneapolis, last month. The Commission recommended that it be continued that it might hold itself in readiness to correspond with any denomination desiring a restoration of Church Unity. It deemed it unnecessary to ask for an enlargement of its powers. Its recommendation was adopted.

THE RIGIDITY OF ROME.

BY WILFRID WARD.

From *The Nineteenth Century* (London), November, 1895.

I.

AN acute observer has remarked that a 'novel of the time,' to be successful, should put into concrete form some phase of the 'time spirit.' Men should find in it the definite expression of what has been vaguely dwelling in their own minds. I think it may be said similarly that Dr. Jessopp's recent somewhat contemptuous comparison of the papacy to the Celestial Empire * expresses (in an exaggerated form) a thought which is vaguely in the minds of many. It conveys just that conception of the papacy which makes many Englishmen impatient at the bare phrase 'reunion with Rome.' Many who have a personal respect for Leo XIII. and are not insensible to a certain rigid strength in the papal power, or even to the value of continental Catholicism as a breakwater against the running flood of Anarchism and Socialism, refuse even to consider seriously the claims which the papacy makes in its own

* See *Nineteenth Century* for June. Reprinted in *CHRISTIAN LITERATURE*, July, 1895.

behalf. As a matter of political expediency the papacy may be utilised. It may even be approached, as China might, in a spirit of conciliation—as a power which might still on occasion prove a valuable ally. But to take seriously the claims of the Roman See as a whole is like contemplating the possibility of a reign of pig-tails and mandarins in Europe. The Immaculate Conception and Papal Infallibility remain as standing reminders that an acceptance of such claims is not only impossible to realise, but absurd to think of.

That a fusion between English religious thought, with its existing preconceptions, and the Papal Church as it now is, is simply out of the question, few will be found to deny. And if we add that the man of the world in the days of Justin Martyr would have held truly that any fusion of the 'pernicious' Oriental 'superstition' known as Christianity with the then existing civilisation of Imperial Rome was out of the question, it is not because the cases are parallel, but only to remind ourselves that potent spiritual forces may be held very cheap even by highly civilised men of the world. What seems and is out of the question in one generation may, where living and powerful forces are concerned—forces which can work wonderful changes, whether in the sphere of adaptation or of destruction—come eventually into the region of practical politics. Without saying that this is a reason for maintaining seriously that the union of all Christians under the papal obedience is a probability in the future, it is a useful reminder that to arrive at the eventual possibilities of the case, we must go somewhat beyond the so-called common-sense judgment of men of the world. In such men the instinctive sense of the existing state of things is strong and accurate; but their realisation of the nature of the true forces at work, and of their ultimate effects, is often proportionally defective.

And Dr. Jessopp's analogy itself brings out strikingly both the excellence and the defect of such practical judgments. It would be difficult to express more forcibly (with the additional vividness given by caricature) the mutual relation between the average Englishman

and the papacy, than by comparing it to that of a European with the Chinese civilisation. And yet it would be difficult to give a false idea of the forces really at work, which must be estimated in forecasting the future. Both Empires, Papal and Celestial, are apparently self contained and self-sufficient, dealing in their daily life with a different class of ideals and aims from any with which Englishmen are familiar, refusing to acknowledge an inferiority which seems to Englishmen obvious—nay, each in its special sphere incurring the imputation that it is haughty, unbending, uncompromising. Both Empires are ruled by a supreme authority which strikes outsiders as autocratic and exacting. Both are in occasional contact with the surrounding civilisations—forces to be reckoned with by them, yet in the opinion of their critics learning little from them and assimilating still less.

So much for the apparent similarity in the present. But how far are these features of present resemblance significant for the future? If you point to the marble statue on the Pincian Hill in Rome, which is supposed to be a perfect likeness to Savonarola at the age of thirty,* and argue that because the bust was very like him and will never change, therefore Savonarola could never have altered, or grown, or assimilated food and oxygen, or responded to the conditions surrounding his life, the reasoning is obviously defective. The resemblance between him and the statue was external and temporary. The same living forces which made him the manner of man from which the statue was copied, must later on have made him grow unlike it again. And if we look at the supposed resemblance in type between the Papal Church and the Chinese Empire, we find (even apart from the obvious caricature involved) something of the same sort.

Briefly, the Chinese Empire is, as the writer to whom I refer reminds us, rigid and exclusive for the reasons which have made it so for four thousand years. Self-contained immobility is, as Dr. Jessopp explains, its

* I speak from memory as to the age represented.

genius. The Papal Church, on the other hand, would seem in part to owe the rigidity which impresses its critics (paradoxical as it may sound) to its very adaptability. Rigidity and exclusiveness were in their degree the indispensable means of adapting itself to a critical situation—of withstanding the widespread revolt of the sixteenth century against the principles of its constitution.

To appreciate this difference let us read Dr. Jesopp's account of the genius of the Chinese civilisation. While enjoying 'an unbroken peace and liberty,' he writes, 'it held itself aloof from all other nations of the world;' it 'engaged in the study of *its own literature*,' and was 'in all things self-contained and self-supporting.' And the typical representative of this exclusive system is the 'mysterious emperor' who 'dwells apart in a kind of sacred isolation, still regarded by his subjects as king of kings and lord of lords, still asking for nothing but that he should be left alone and undisturbed.' This is no enemy's account of the Chinese civilisation. The preservation of an unalloyed local tradition in culture and manners is the boast of the Chinaman, even when he has had the opportunity of comparing himself with the best products of European education. Some of my readers may remember the warning of an eminent Chinaman of our own time—Marquis Tseng—to a Chinese diplomatist who was accredited to a European Embassy. 'Your great difficulty,' he said, 'will be to conceal your contempt for the barbarous ways of the Europeans; but you must learn to do it, else you will never be successful in your career.'

The Church, on the other hand, has been exclusive, not from choice in time of peace, but from necessity in time of war. The polity she has striven to defend was the outcome not of insensibility to the civilisations around her, but of her own power of assimilation with the genius and intellect of various places and epochs. Her schools have at different times blended with all that was best in Platonic and Aristotelian thought, Jewish and Arabian speculation. 'The doctrine of the

Divine Word,' writes Cardinal Newman, 'is Platonic; the doctrine of the Incarnation is Indian; of a divine kingdom is Judaic; of angels and demons is Magian.' The metaphysic of the schools is Aristotelian; their natural theology largely based on the philosophy of a Jew. The avowed aim of the Roman Church at the Reformation was the preservation of the living organism of the Church universal, which had thus embodied, in its teaching and traditions, so much of the intellectual and spiritual life of Europe and the East. One of its characteristics which impressed such students of Church history as Wiseman and Newman was that very power of assimilation which Dr. Jessopp now denies to it. Cardinal Wiseman has remarked that it reflected in great measure the intellectual character of each successive age; * and Cardinal Newman in a suggestive essay has maintained that from the very beginning the Church constantly claimed and assimilated the truths presented to her by the schools and peoples with which she came in contact.

Wherever she went (he writes), in trouble or in triumph, still she was a living spirit, the mind and voice of the Most High: 'sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them and asking them questions,' claiming to herself what they said rightly, correcting their errors, supplying their defects, completing their beginnings, expanding their surmises, and thus gradually by means of them enlarging the range and refining the sense of her own teaching. So far, then, from her creed being of doubtful origin because it resembles foreign theologies, we hold that one special way in which Providence has imparted divine knowledge to us has been by enabling her to draw and collect it together out of the world.

The intellectual adaptability involved in this assimilative power was notably shown in the scholastic movement of the thirteenth century. The peripatetic philosophy and the dialectical method, so fiercely denounced by St. Bernard in his contests with Abelard, so much disliked and suspected by the fathers, became fused with the very theology of the Church. Aristotle, the *bête noire* of the early Christian doctors, † became an

* This point is suggestively treated in the Inaugural Lecture delivered by Cardinal Wiseman in 1862 before the Catholic Academia.

† 'The early fathers had shown an extreme aversion to Aristotle. I do not know who of them could endure him.' (Newman, *Idea of an University*, 4th ed. p. 470.)

authority almost as supreme in philosophy as were the inspired writers in divinity. The natural theology of Rabbi Moyses—as St. Thomas styles the Jewish thinker Maimonides—was adopted in its most characteristic features by Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas Aquinas.*

The organism of the Church, which was thus the outcome on its intellectual side of the fusion of various phases of civilisation with the unchanging essence of the divine revelation, was directly attacked at the Reformation. Luther did not, like a Savonarola, or even in his measure an Erasmus, aim at mere reform within her pale, in the light of the truest spiritual and ethical genius of the time. He attacked the very principle of unity. To preserve its very existence the Church had to resist the Reformers *à outrance*. The papacy was for nearly three hundred years in a state of war.

We have, then, to ask whether an attitude which in the Chinaman is a manifestation of his own rigid and self-contained genius, may not be in the Papal Church the adaptation to a state of war of an organism which is neither unduly rigid nor self-contained; whether the very traces its theology bears of fusion with the thought proper to many times, places, and civilisations, are not standing records of a character diametrically opposed to that of the self-sufficient and narrow Chinaman. And, further, the very fact that this external appearance of rigidity impresses English critics as so significant, reminds us that the state of war also caused a mutual estrangement which has led its critics to judge by appearances. Strangers form their impression of a bare acquaintance from his manners and incidental words or actions. Friends interpret his incidental bearing by their knowledge of himself. A man who visits Italy for the first time thinks he sees two Italians conversing in a towering passion. One familiar with the genius of the race knows that no more is meant by their manner than the animation which gives piquancy to debate. So, too, it requires a real inner familiarity

* The extent of the obligations of St. Thomas Aquinas to Maimonides is drawn out in Dr. Guttman's *Das Verhältniss des Thomas von Aquinas zum Judenthum*, &c. Göttingen, 1891.

with the peculiar genius of Catholicism to avoid very grave misunderstanding of its separate manifestations ; and the tradition of three hundred years has substituted for that familiarity both estrangement and prejudice. Catholic doctrines are looked at in the light of an unconscious anti-Catholic tradition. A rigidity due to passing circumstances is assumed to be the very essence of the Church. And the most uncouth account of her dogmas becomes, consequently, the most probable.

I am aware that the consideration which I am suggesting opens a far larger subject than I can hope to deal with in the limits of an article. But I will endeavour to indicate its general bearing on the question which Dr. Jessopp raises, leaving reservations and modifications for another opportunity. Dr. Jessopp despairs of any approach to reunion, because for reunion mutual concession is necessary, and because the ' Chinese ' genius of the Roman Church, evinced in the recent papal letter to the English people, shows this to be out of the question. And so far as the kind of concessions spoken of in some quarters is concerned—for instance, the abatement of the papal claim to infallibility, which is a defined doctrine—no doubt he is right.

But what I would suggest is that the real difficulty, while it goes much deeper than anything Dr. Jessopp appears to contemplate, does nevertheless, when it is reached, offer some hope of an eventual solution. When the great mass of Englishmen, who think on such questions at all, regard the Papal Church as ' Chinese ; ' when even a High Churchman like Mr. Gore looks on the papal encyclical on Holy Scriptures not only as inadequate, but as absurd ; when Carlyle can only describe the modern successors of Abbot Samson as ' abominable monks ; ' when we find in the pages of the late Mr. T. Mozley, and many another, that the doctrine defined at the Vatican Council appears to them not only untrue, but simply preposterous, we are reminded that the differences between us are far deeper than any which controversies on ' Anglican orders ' or on purely theological doctrines represent. It is the

wide difference of intellectual tradition, and (in many cases) of ethical principles, which really separates us. These form the context whereby dogmas are explained, and cast a reflected light on the doctrines themselves.

If, on the other hand, much which makes the modern Englishman regard the Papal Church as 'Chinese' is due to a state of things in that Church which was exceptional and temporary—which made it for a time markedly unsympathetic with contemporary thought; if much more is due to misunderstanding on the part of those from whom it has been so long estranged; and if the causes which have led to this double estrangement are rapidly ceasing to exist, there may be hope for a great modification in their mutual relations in the future. It is obvious that if such a doctrine as papal infallibility was maintained, before it was defined, by men of such moderation as Newman and Fénelon—if it was regarded by them as the condition marked out by common sense and experience for making the unity of the Church a reality and not a mere name—it cannot be the preposterous tenet which it appears to the average Englishman. It may be true or it may be false; but it is not likely to be absurd. It has evidently meant one thing to Fénelon, another to the typical Englishman. And this instance is representative of many another. Two corporate bodies, in England especially, for centuries as much separated as different races, have not only come to have fixed habits of thought at variance with each other, but have to a great extent lost both the language and the opportunities which should enable them at least to make clear the points of divergence, and to explain that context of their tenets which makes the views on either side consistent with sanity and even common sense. The language spoken, the whole intellectual equipment, the class of ideas exercising the mind on either side, have become largely distinct.

But if Cardinal Newman is right in maintaining that assimilation with the thought surrounding it is the normal condition of the Catholic and Roman Church, and if the proverb 'History repeats itself' is true, there

may be in this department hope for very far-reaching change both within the Church and without ; of a far wider assimilation of contemporary thought within, of the consequent diminution of prejudices and misconceptions, still often so great as to be almost unintelligible to Catholics, without.

' The present state of things,' writes Father Hecker, in his work *The Church and the Age*, ' is neither fatal nor final ;' and the change which he prophesies has both these elements—increased individualism among Catholics, issuing in a fusion of Catholic thought with the movements of the time, and a consequent growth of the recognition among those without the Roman communion of the nature and power of Catholicism. The Catholic and Roman Church accepted at Trent (as has already been said) the state of siege. The compromises fondly hoped for by such as Erasmus were definitely rejected. Under the circumstances, nothing short of compromises of principle would stay the popular clamor, and to these she could not consent. She decided that rigid definition, and the concentration of her own forces, were the only course, if vital principles were to be effectively defended. Her work became primarily militant. Organised zeal and skilful debate were at a premium. The intellectual was necessarily for a time sacrificed for the controversial and the devotional. Acute polemic, intense and united *esprit de corps*, the spirit of the martyr, and, above all, absolute military obedience became essential to the preservation of the organism against the general attack.

In time of siege, court-martial supersedes trial by jury ; the cultivation of the arts is less important than the training of good soldiers ; the workmen who had been occupied in building museums and lecture halls are drawn off to repair fortifications, which, though indispensable for preserving the city, are useless for the general culture of its citizens. The length of the siege is likely to be the measure of the completeness of the transformation from the industrial and peaceful to the military state, of the concentration of all the forces in the city on its defence, and of the neglect of those

merely intellectual or artistic or scientific pursuits which make a full and refined life. The very success of the defence will depend on energy being diverted from the merely intellectual to the practical. And success must be at the cost of destruction among its buildings, and injury to life and limb among its inhabitants. When the siege is raised we do not find a perfect commissariat, exuberant health among the soldiers, intellectual activity, theatres and lecture halls and museums the centres of interest, but rather full hospitals, buildings which sadden the eye of the architect, a sternness of discipline in daily life which would seem barbarous in time of peace; and we find, probably, on the other hand, intense *esprit de corps* and deep enthusiasm among an exhausted remnant.

Dr. Jessopp's own article should be a warning that analogies are often very partial. But, up to a certain point, what has been said helps us to understand the intellectual position of the Church in communion with the Apostolic See since the Reformation, and more especially of the Catholic body in England. Its very constitution, among ourselves, its Vicars Apostolic and missionary priests, were for many years reminders that it sojourned in a hostile land. The war once declared, the greatest minds on either side became necessarily intolerant, pardonably unfair. Sir Thomas More, so strong an advocate of toleration in the *Utopia*, was known as a persecutor, and held it to be his only possible course, as Chancellor, in the anarchy which was characteristic of one phase of the Reformation. The genius and breadth of Milton's mind did not prevent his excluding 'Papists' from his scheme of toleration on the score that they were idolaters. Besiegers and besieged, as time went on, became, in their separation, ignorant of each other's character; and the intellectual virtues of justice, candour, and even the Christian virtue of charitableness became less in place than the more military qualities of *esprit de corps*, skill in the war of words, prompt obedience to orders.

The Jesuits—those wonderful janissaries of the papal army who arose to defend the ancient order—repre-

sented in their military character, and in their very name—'the Company of Jesus'—the genius of the crisis. They surveyed the theological field as well as the field of practical discipline and personal piety. Dogma and philosophy were largely removed from the free debates of the universities, and consecrated to the controversial requirements of the seminaries which were fashioning soldiers of debate and martyrs of sanctity. The gradual analysis and further explication of theological truth, due to the sifting of the schools in the light of the thought of the time, gave place to that defence of existing positions which is exacted by polemical requirements.* The deep truths and ancient traditions, which the Church was pledged to preserve, for the moment needed some other protection than the normal process of being gradually analysed and developed by living intellects within the Church. They could not be left to derive growth and nourishment freely from the intellectual life of the age, as plants do from the surrounding light and oxygen. The speculation abroad was perverse and unfair. Contact with surrounding thought and its attendant analysis might easily lead to corruption and destruction. The truths had to be placed in safety in their existing state of development. They had to be promptly encased and iron-bound in *formule*. And a consequent change took place in their intellectual treatment. The pressing need was no longer to develop them and in part assimilate them with a friendly or neutral environment, or to exhibit them by means of philosophies to which they were in calm intellectual contrast; but to defend and protect them from passionately hostile forces. The normal co-operation, so eloquently described by Cardinal Newman, between liberty of thought and authority, often became dangerous when the whole claim of authority was being assailed in the name of liberty. Intellectual exercises became primarily controversial. The truths were safely sheathed in the

* The historical method of Petavius and the massive genius of Suarez are reminders, however, that we owe a far larger intellectual debt to the Jesuits than is represented by their contributions to contemporary controversy.

definite *formulae*, and the *formulae* were defended by polemic. The hesitation attendant on the endeavour after perfectly accurate intellectual vision might be as fatal as cowardice. Clear, strong, definite dialectic was the most serviceable intellectual weapon, and it was enlisted in the defence of precisely predetermined conclusions. What Tennyson has called 'the clash of yes and no' was the familiar and necessary sound. The *formulae* of the Protestants often, no doubt, admitted of an orthodox interpretation; Catholic *formulae* could be and were travestied as to their meaning. Newman has interpreted 'justification by faith' in a Catholic sense; and the word 'transubstantiation' has been perverted by its opponents, and made to signify that our Lord was carnally present, instead of sacramentally, on the altar; and other instances could be given. This is now admitted on all sides. But at that time the stand had to be taken, the watchwords accepted, the banners raised, and the finer intellectual discriminations postponed to a time of peace.

Above all, authority, the very principle at stake, and the essential requisite to combined action, became necessarily in practice more prompt and absolute. Tyranny is among the greatest of dangers in time of peace; in time of war the pressure of the peril to the community acts both as a guiding and restraining force on the ruler, and as a motive in soldiers and followers for preferring the chance of some injustice to the risk of any insubordination. Again, debate and dispute, the very life of civil constitutions, the normal means of giving citizens a share in public affairs and in determining the fortunes of the country, the safeguard against injustice, and against the sense of injustice, are fatal in time of war. At such a time all must act together, and generally all must act promptly. Authority is rightly appealed to constantly. The assertion of private opinion may be not only useless but dangerous. Such is the necessary consequence of material war; and it is true in its measure of a war between theological parties.

The result is a tendency to close all questions and

rule them, at least provisionally, in one sense, for the sake of union and concentration against the foe. Theology becomes controversial in its form, and more and more precise, logical, and uniform in its statement—its immediate utility not being a wider intellectual vision, but a more successful controversial application. Thus we find the Protestant controversy actually incorporated in many modern Catholic text-books. Dogma is explained by its anti-Protestant limitations. And the refutation of a position whose very essence is the disloyalty of private judgment naturally leads to private judgment in general being held in suspicion: and this has often generated a rigidity in theological discussion at variance with the freer atmosphere of the palmy days of Scholasticism. The mediæval glorying in differences of opinion, and the clash of intellect among Catholic thinkers themselves, between Thomist and Scotist, Dominican and Franciscan, disappear in large measure from contemporary controversy. The sanctity of the time issues in something very unlike St. Thomas' *Summa*, with its intellectual width and individualism and assimilative genius. St. Ignatius, St. Francis Xavier, St. Philip Neri, St. Charles Borromeo are the embodiments not of intellectual assimilation but of a great spiritual movement. The effective adherents of such a movement display enthusiasm for corporate action; a tendency to look to Authority to decide all things—to await 'orders' like disciplined and well-drilled soldiers, and ask no questions. Those who hesitate at such a time to be prompt in obedience are naturally and rightly charged with disloyalty. The most zealous look mainly to the correlative advantages of ethical discipline for the individual, and effective defence for the body politic. The Jesuits were, as I have said, the ideal embodiment of this military obedience. 'The prevailing sin of the time,' wrote the late Father Hecker, 'was disobedience. The members of the [Society of Jesus] had to aim at becoming the perfect models of the virtue of obedience. The distinguishing traits of a perfect Jesuit formed the antithesis of a thorough Protestant.'

THE SELF-EVIDENCING POWER OF BIBLICAL TRUTH.

From *The Sunday-School Times* (Philadelphia), November 16, 1895.

THE great spiritual truths of the Bible have a strong convincing force even for skeptical minds. Even those who find the greatest difficulty with certain features of biblical truth—for example, with the miracles—are generally strongly impressed in favor of other truths. The biblical doctrines of God's fatherhood and providence, the coming of Christ into the world, his life of sympathy and sacrifice, the conception of man's possibilities which he teaches,—these doctrines commend themselves, and men who do not exactly believe them will often admit that they wish, they hope, they are true.

Thus there is a large range of biblical truth which meets man's wants. It is just what he longs to be sure of, what his soul cries for. Whatever may be said on other points, then, it cannot be denied that the scriptural doctrines of God, of Christ, and of man, are adapted to satisfy the deepest longings of our natures for those who receive them. In illustration of this, the testimony of Professor Huxley is noteworthy. He says: "Take the Bible as a whole. Make the severest deductions which fair criticism can dictate, and there still remains in the old literature a vast residuum of moral grandeur. Some of the pleasantest recollections of my childhood are connected with the voluntary study of an ancient Bible which belonged to my grandmother. There were splendid pictures in it, to be sure, but I recollect little or nothing about them save a portrait of the high-priest in his vestments. What comes vividly back to my mind are remembrances of my delight in the histories of Joseph and David, and of my keen appreciation of the chivalrous kindness of Abraham in his dealings with Lot. Like a sudden flash there returns back upon me my utter scorn of the pettifogging meanness of Jacob, and my sympathetic grief

over the heart-breaking lamentation of the cheated Esau, 'Hast thou not a blessing for me also, O my father?' And I see, as in a cloud, pictures of the grand phantasmagoria of the Book of Revelation. I enumerate, as they issue, the childish impressions which come crowding out of the pigeon-holes in my brain, in which they have lain almost undisturbed for forty years. I prize them as an evidence that a child of five or six years old, left to his own devices, may be deeply interested in the Bible, and draw sound moral sustenance from it."

In regard to some other biblical truths, the mind would not naturally wish them to be true, and yet it cannot well resist the conviction that they are. Such, especially, are the truths which center in the doctrine of sin. We may not like to admit them, but can any honest mind deny them? Men often palliate in their theories the idea of sin; they excuse it, call it misfortune or mistake, but every now and then the facts of human life uncover afresh its true character as a deep alienation of the human will from God and goodness. We cannot, after all allowances, make the facts of life square with any view of sin but that which the Bible presents. The secular literature which goes deepest into the heart of man treats sin most nearly as the Bible treats it. Thus the great moral truths of the Bible commend themselves to mankind, and tend to produce conviction.

There are but few men who would attempt to deny the biblical view of God, of sin, and of salvation. There are a great many men whose beliefs are all chaos, who have little definite conviction of religious truth, and yet it will be found that in most such there is a lingering hope that the gospel is true. If they should gather up the few scattered fragments of faith which might be found in their hearts, they would generally be found to be substantially Christian, so far as they went; very defective probably, partly erroneous, perhaps, and yet shaped by the Christian ideas which had worked themselves into the heart, though unbidden, and had lived there, though unnourished.

The leading truths of the Bible prove themselves true more and more in the experience of those who receive them. It is evident that, since biblical truth is the truth of life and for life, it can find its adequate verification only in life. It is an undoubted fact that those who thoroughly receive these truths, and translate them into their lives, grow and live into constantly increasing conviction of them. If any doubt whether the Christian religion be true, let them put it to the test of trying it. There is but one verdict from those who are really living the Christian life. They would say, "The Bible proves itself true for us the more we know of it."

We must be in some sympathy of life with biblical truth if we are to be in a position adequately to test it. Is this unreasonable? Is it not so with art? Do we allow the comments of the novice to pass as valid criticism? Certainly not. We say he has no inner sympathy with art. We say the same of the man who has no trained ear for music, and of the man who has nothing of the poetic spirit. Shall such men judge music or poetry? And yet men who have no more appreciation of spiritual truth than the most uncultivated have of music or poetry often set themselves up for competent judges of the whole range of biblical ideas. But those who are rightly to estimate the Bible must, from the very nature of biblical truth, bring to it some sympathy,—a spirit which has some kinship with its own,—or, as some one has well said, "the commentary of kindness."

It is not meant that we are to form all our opinions beforehand in its favor, but that we should apprehend its nature and purpose, and have some living, serious interest and sympathy with that purpose. That purpose is to reveal salvation through Christ. If we firmly grasp that, and are willing to make that our truth, then we are in a position to begin Christian discipleship, and we shall grow into biblical truth as we seek for Christ in it. We shall know it we follow on to know. If we are ready to take the attitude of a disciple of Christ, and are willing to do God's will, we shall

know of the doctrine,—not everything, but more and more as we grow in Christian experience and character. Some of the greatest minds have given forcible testimony which accords exactly with this view. For example, Thomas Erskine says: "I do not believe the things contained in the Bible, because I know it to be inspired, but I believe in its inspiration because I have proved the truth of the great things revealed in it." "It finds me," says Coleridge, "in a way that no other book does; I do not so much find it, as I am found of it." To these testimonies may be added the quaint but weighty words of the Westminster Confession. In the article on the Scriptures we read that "the heavenliness of the matter, the efficacy of the doctrine, the majesty of the style, the consent of all the parts, the scope of the whole, the full discovery it makes of the only way of man's salvation, the many other incomparable excellences, and the entire perfection thereof, are arguments whereby it doth abundantly evidence itself to be the Word of God."

Biblical truth, shining in its own light, and made living by the power of the Holy Spirit, is itself its own best evidence. Historic and other arguments are of great service in the refutation of objections, and in certain lines of defense; but the truth itself, and that alone, is likely to produce conviction and persuasion.

FRANCIS SCHLATTER.

From *The Independent* (New York), November 21, 1895.

WE have had a great many faith healers and miracle healers, but very few like this Alsatian shoemaker, Francis Schlatter, who has so suddenly disappeared from Denver. He is a Roman Catholic, but his work has no relation to any Church or priest. He takes no money, and he leaves the scene of his wonderful popular fame and his numerous cures with only the old clothes he wore when he came. He is absolutely unselfish, absolutely sincere, and he depends only on the

direction of the Father, which he believes is given to him. We have never had in this country such a scene as that of weeks past in Denver, when streets have been blocked by the thousands who have come from distant places to have his healing hand laid upon them, or to have handkerchiefs blessed to be carried to the sick. He has no theory of his power beyond the gift of the Father. He requires nothing but faith; and it is an evidence of the great aptitude for faith all about us—or credulity, if one will call it so—that the multitudes believe in him. However explained—and we suppose it is like other faith cures, chiefly operative in nervous diseases—there is no doubt that many have been healed, while many have been disappointed.

It is evident that Schlatter has patterned his methods on those of our Lord. His pictures show that he affects the hair and beard which painters have given to Christ. His method of healing, his reference to his "Father," his retirement to the mountains, his fasting for forty days, are all imitations of the Gospel story. These things are easily imitated, for they are quite superficial. He seems not to be himself sure that he is not another Christ. We do not doubt that he is sincere, and that much brooding on the story of our Lord has developed his faith in his own power.

But when we look beyond the mere superficial imitation and the thaumaturgy, how great is the contrast. To-day it is not his miracles of healing, but his wonderful teaching which gives us the true Christ. He spake as never man spake. He was the greatest religious reformer the world has ever seen. There is a moral purpose and a character about his words such as all the Greek or Hindu moral and religious teachers never even approximated. We may drop and forget all the miracles, and there yet remains the divine Teacher, who brought us near to God, revealed God to our knowledge and sympathy, and who drew aside forever the veil of formality which covered religion, and showed us the heart of it nowhere but in the heart of man. Read the parables, the Sermon on the Mount; read all the Gospels, and we find them chiefly

instructions in righteousness, directions for the kingdom of God, disclosures of sin and salvation, and only occasionally and subordinately the healings of the sick.

Now notice—if we may descend so far—what is the contrast in the case of this Francis Schlatter. This man is not original, but a mere imitator. He copies not the essential and peculiar, but the superficial. He parts his hair in the middle, fasts, lays his hands on men, tells them to believe—this with the utmost sincerity and simplicity; and this is all. There is no teaching, no spiritual help, no inspiration, nothing but imposition of hands on the sick. The sick are, perhaps, healed, but to the poor there is no Gospel preached; while it is the good news from God to man that is the mission of Christ. The sick he cured are all dead now; but the word he spake, that is eternal life for us as it was in the days of his flesh.

So we speak with respect of Francis Schlatter, believing him to be an honest faith healer, on the borderland of sanity, free from all selfish or ecclesiastical purpose, who tries the superficial and thaumaturgic imitation of our Lord, but whom it would be both profane and ridiculous to speak of as another Christ. For that we will wait till he brings some message, or at least, if miracles are to be proof, till he rises from the dead.

CURRENT THOUGHTS.

Christian Endeavor.

THERE is no one of the great religious movements of recent times that requires greater care and caution in its development than the Christian Endeavor enterprise; and there is no branch or department of that Endeavor work that demands nicer discrimination and wiser generalship than the "good citizenship" effort. The Christian Endeavor movement has had a wonderful growth and has exercised already a very potent and far-reaching influence

for good, and there are many prophets who foretell of its future that it "has come to stay." But it is not at all evident that a vast conglomerate of associations such as the Christian Endeavor Society will stay unless it seeks to retain and constantly renew its spiritual impulse, and also avoids those divisional questions which, after all, pertain more to methods of work than to the work itself. The temperance question, for example, might possibly disrupt this fine organization. Third-party prohibition is a question of meth-

od, and it represents a method of prohibition upon which many good men are not agreed. In any case, it is a partisan question, and as such the Christian Endeavor societies have nothing to do with it, though individual Endeavorers may, of course, vote for what they please, if they have votes at all.—*The Observer*, N. Y. (Pres.).

The Episcopal Recorder is very much mistaken in considering that President Clark's urging the Christian Endeavor societies to participate in good government issues means their conversion into a political party. There is not a line in any of the letters that he has written that can fairly be construed in that sense. What he has urged has been that the Endeavor societies and kindred organizations, such as the Epworth League, Luther League, etc., should impress it upon their members that every young man has a definite duty as a Christian citizen to seek the best interests of his country; that to shirk that duty is as wrong as to shirk his duty in the Church, and that his responsibility for the full performance of his duty is not merely to his country, but to God.—*The Independent*, N. Y. (Undenomin.).

THE W. C. T. U.

THE W. C. T. U., in joining to its aim to prohibit the liquor traffic, the single tax, woman suffrage, free silver, etc. is imperiling its main issue and its usefulness: "We do not believe that it is 'good politics' or good generalship to concentrate the strength of the enemies of a dozen issues upon prohibition, which seems thus disabled almost forever by the consolidation of opposition we deprecate. . . . The Woman's Christian Temperance Union is in the presence of a substantial dan-

ger. The women who compose it are in duty bound to do some very serious and very fearless thinking."—*The Northwestern Christian Advocate*, Chicago (M. E.).

Unity.

THERE has been a good deal of talk of late years about reunion with the Presbyterian Church, South, the chief movers in which are the "bold men of Kentucky," who, it is intimated, would be quite willing to be rid of some of their Northern brethren, in order to a more congenial alliance with those of the South. We do not like to interfere with advances toward reunion, but would only suggest that in the next conference with their brethren, before the marriage certificate is signed, sealed, and delivered, they should make frank confession that they—and not we—are the lineal descendants of that old-school Assembly which in 1865 voted to proscribe the whole Presbyterian Church, South! We shall be surprised if those Southern brethren do not answer, with a proud scorn of hypocrisy, "We had rather be associated with the men of the extreme North, who fought us bravely in the field, but did not carry their hatred to the Communion table, instead of allying ourselves with those who would not admit us to their Presbyteries, or even to their churches, without confession and repentance for what we did with a good conscience, and consider to have been the greatest act of devotion in our lives!"—*The Evangelist*, N. Y. (Pres.).

It ought to be as clear as day by this time that there can be no unity in the right sense between the great Christian bodies without mutual recognition. The Presbyterian, Congregationalist, and

Methodist denominations, for example, are just as genuine churches of the New Testament pattern (with an apostolic ministry, and with divine sanctions for their existence and with divine blessings on their work) as are to be found on earth. Whenever the Protestant Episcopal Church and the Anglican communion come to recognize these facts, the way may be opened for closer relations between all the churches of Christendom.—*The Central Christian Advocate, St. Louis* (M. E.).

THE Baptists of New York have been discussing the question of Christian unity. Rev. Dr. David H. Greer, rector of St. Bartholomew's Episcopal Church, said, in part: "We hair-splitting religious denominations, striving after unity, are a kind of a fusion ticket; and it does not appear to be any better day for fusion in ecclesiastical circles than it is in politics. After the leaders of the different denominations have talked themselves hoarse over unity, they go straightway and vote straight tickets. We Episcopalians have had a good deal to say lately about Christian unity; but, if you look at us real hard, you will find out that our unity means that we want you all to believe as we do. I believe that Christian conduct is the first and ultimate ground of Christian unity." And this leads the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, the organ of the Christians, to say: "This is only another way of teaching the doctrine of the Christians—that Christian character should be the only test of fellowship. Conduct determines character. There is no other ground for Christian union."—*The Christian Register, Boston* (Unit.).

The Curates' Union.

No doubt many of the evils

which the Curates' Union is formed to meet are in a large measure remediable. Church reform is at present in the air, and church reform may well begin where the platform of the Curates' Union demands it, namely, in the matter of church patronage. We feel that the much-aggrieved curates are very moderate in asking that in addition to a reformed system of church patronage, the "dead line" for incumbents may be drawn at sixty or sixty-five. After reaching this age, rectors and vicars must be retired. But so long as in any church the majority of the clergy are required to be under thirty-five if they would be invited to a curacy, or, as is averred in some quarters, under fifty, if they can maintain their position as incumbent of a parish in America, we fear that legislative reform on either side of the water, to be of any good effect, must be preceded by a change in public opinion. The vicar is supposed to choose young curates because he covets the advantage of age in ruling them, or makes demands on their efforts and enthusiasm which only the young can meet. Mr. Thackeray complains that incumbents often impose conditions on those they seek to engage as curates which they do not impose on themselves. There seems no necessary injustice in this. A young man may be selected for a particular work in a parish, and must have particular qualifications. The vicar is right to choose a man so qualified to do work which he cannot do himself.—*The Churchman, N. Y.* (P. E.).

Church Endowment.

ANY one who has made a study of the effect of endowments on churches in this country must have been led to question the utility of them. The intention is to

make sure that the Church shall not decline. They more often insure decline; because they become an excuse for doing and giving less to maintain the Church. They foster the habit of dependence. Now the life of a church is always in exact ratio to the exertion put forth in its behalf by its members. Anything that cultivates "ease in Zion," or induces the spirit of dependence instead of the spirit of self-help, diminishes by so much the motive to effort. Mission points must be established and aided for a time by outside help. But nothing is so sure to keep them small and make their tenure of life uncertain as to make them permanent pensioners. It is so much easier to draw funds from the missionary society than to stir about and raise them from the congregation that it is never safe to expose the average church or committee to that temptation.—*The Christian Leader, Boston (Univ.)*.

Other Endowments.

WHILE popular feeling is strong that many men grow rich suddenly by disregarding their duty to their neighbors, there is a satisfaction in every evidence that some rich men are continually recognizing their obligations to the people. Mr. Carnegie, who three years ago gave a million dollars to erect a free library in Pittsburg, on the occasion of its dedication last week gave another million for its endowment, to purchase works of art. Mr. Rockefeller also last week added another million to his previous gifts of four and a half millions to Chicago University, and promises two millions more on condition that the amount be duplicated by other givers. Mr. Rockefeller thus becomes, with one exception, the largest giver in this country to any educational institution, and offers to Chicago

University an unrivalled opportunity to make new advances in popular education. We have little apprehension, either, that the personal opinions of the donor, or his methods of making money, with some of which we have no sympathy, will hamper the instruction given in that institution on economic subjects. A university bound in any such way would soon lack the support which is even more important than money, while educators seeking to subserve the aims of rich men to become richer at the expense of public morals would subvert the American idea of education and would not long be tolerated.—*The Congregationalist*.

A Religious Congress.

A UNIVERSAL Congress of Religions is being planned for the year 1900, to be held in Paris. The Abbé Charbonnel has had several conversations with Cardinal Gibbons on this and kindred matters, and will probably himself play an important part in carrying out the scheme. He was very much impressed with the Parliament of Religions in Chicago. He says: "It is the Catholic Church that will be called upon to make, in view of a Universal Congress of Religions, the most generous concessions." In referring to the leading position awarded to the Roman religion at Chicago, where Cardinal Gibbons was asked to open the Congress by a prayer and sermon, he says: "This respectful deference permitted the ancient Church of Christ to take part in the memorable assembly without sacrificing her dignity and divine rights." Much interest is being aroused in the project, and the matter is being thoroughly studied. The approval and intervention of the two French Cardinals have been secured. Dur.

ing his recent visit in Rome Cardinal Gibbons spoke with the Pope concerning the Congress, and it has been stated that, while the latter does not wish to take any official part in it, he regards the project with approval and pleasure. In the latest letter of

the Pope to the members of the Roman Catholic churches, however, he forbids their taking any part in mixed religious congresses, and perhaps we should accept the latter statement of the Pope's attitude rather than the former.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

CONDUCTED BY REV. CHARLES R. GILLET, LIBRARIAN OF UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

TWO BOOKS ON THE PREACHER.*

With evident candor and deep sincerity, with careful elaboration of analysis and style, and with a "ministerial power" which the reader feels, Dr. Hall has added an admirable production to the Carew Lectures. And we notice in the brief list of published volumes of the lectureship a praiseworthy variety of theme which such foundations do not always allow. This book conveys even more of holy rebuke and stimulus to pastors in the restless and complex life of the age than to those who are preparing for the burdens of the office. While the instruction in many seminaries, the constitutions of many churches, and the words of Christ and the apostles give the student to understand that there is an authority in the office of ministry as well as power in the personality of the minister, it must be admitted that present conditions as well as perpetual requirement justify all the emphasis here laid upon lofty and symmetrical personality. And while the Protestant doctrine of the priesthood of believers and the layman's abuse of his "personal liberty" condition the results if not the qualifications of ministerial power, they both abate little of the truth of our author's argument.

To state the argument succinctly: The ministerial order, instituted by Christ, has continuously existed as a

* I. Qualifications for Ministerial Power. The Carew Lectures for 1895. Hartford Theological Seminary. By Charles Cuthbert Hall, D.D. Hartford Seminary Press, Hartford, Conn., 1895. 12mo, \$1.50.

II. The Preacher and his Place. The Lyman Beecher Lectures on Preaching Delivered at Yale University in the month of February, 1895. By David H. Greer, D.D., Rector of St. Bartholomew's Church, New York City. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1895. 12mo, \$1.25.

vehicle of power in society. Through the influence of the union of Church and State, of monasticism and popular illiteracy, this conception and this power have moved too much along material lines. But this power consists really "in the calling of the individual by the Holy Spirit, in the indwelling of the Holy Spirit within the called, and in the outgoings of the Holy Spirit's power through all the gifts and resources of a consecrated manhood" (p. 27). Our conception, therefore, is not only spiritual, but individualistic. Our inquiry is undertaken in that American spirit which springs from the growth of true democracy, of popular education, of humanitarian sentiment, and of individualism in religious thought, which last element is of personal, theological, and ecclesiastical scope.

The second lecture considers Qualifications Physical and Intellectual. The great value of personality should not be limited by clerical materialism, intellectualism, or asceticism. The minister must maintain and increase physical advantage by purification, simplification, and development of the physical life. He must avoid mental stagnation by conquering his moods, and mental seclusion by cultivating fellowship with nature, affairs, and people.

The third lecture treats of Qualifications Experiential and Devotional. Tendencies adverse to spirituality must be met by the realism of the esoteric life. Power in the inner life demands accuracy in the interpretation of truth in its relations to life and of life in its relations to truth; sympathy with the underlife of people; authority as the witness of the Spirit; and reverence.

The three following lectures bring forward three circles of the application of personality to external conditions: Qualifications Social and Pastoral; Liturgical and Homiletical; Theological and Ecclesiastical. Social qualifications are lessened by the antagonism of the cynic, the abstraction of the anchorite, and a transcendentalism "which sees not the low-grade questions that perplex untrained minds." Leaving out of view all unworthy methods of gaining ministerial power in society, such as "cheap sensationalism and ostentatious intellectualism," serious efforts for power

in society have been along the lines of a sacerdotalism which substitutes ecclesiastical personality for natural personality through the union of splendor of lineage, corporate individuality, and the pallium of mystical authority; and of a conformity which is the reaction of the former. The true effort is in the comprehensive application of personality to society. As to Pastoral Qualifications, the supreme function of the pastorate is confidential intercourse with human lives. To this, four conditions are essential: duration of pastorate; centralization, educating the people to go to the pastor; individualization, the study by the pastor of each case; interpretation, to disclose to souls the meaning of their own existence. In the realm of public ministrations, the minister's office is aided by the prestige of antiquity, and he must undergo the strain of publicity and the doom of leadership. He must learn to balance the elements of worship and preaching, guarding against ritualistic and didactic excess. Three principles lie at the root of liturgical power: personal preparation, liturgical unification, and intelligibility. And the secret of homiletic power is fellowship with life. This age is hungering for the primitive truth, and sympathy with men will give power to preach Christ.

The last lecture, on Qualifications Theological and Ecclesiastical, contains even weightier matter than the others. It touches upon the question of subscription to ancient symbols, and finds in it a probable embarrassment to the individualistic, the pastoral, and the ethical instinct. The retributions of the theological embarrassment lie in loss of spiritual freshness, intellectual energy, and homiletical and pastoral power. A renaissance of theology is discussed with longing. The reconstructive process now occurring is analyzed, its cause being in the growing force of individualism, and its tendency being toward Catholic Unity. So these forceful and profound lectures are brought to an eloquent and hopeful close. In this outline, presented almost in the author's own words, may be seen what stylists will be apt to consider the defect of a fondness

for "sesquipedalian vocables." There is more "ministerial power" for this age in a terse, Anglo-Saxon style. The volume by Dr. Greer supplements Dr. Hall's by dwelling upon the preacher's *place* more than upon his personality. Dr. Greer does not slight personality. He does not begin where Dr. Hall leaves off, but it is noteworthy that the grave question of subscription to creeds, which Dr. Hall treats in a rather gloomy way in his last lecture, is treated by Dr. Greer in a brighter and more helpful way in his first lecture. "Creeds," he says, "are good as far as they go and true as far as they go, but they do not go to the end of the truth of God in Christ. There is no end." He speaks a just and courageous word for the past and the historic symbols of the faith: "Our aim should be to ascertain the purpose for which they were framed, and our indorsement of them should be simply an indorsement of that purpose, and should not be made to apply to purposes to which the symbols themselves were not intended to apply." In subsequent lectures Dr. Greer analyzes the present with true insight. He discusses God's truth in nature as related to God's truth in the Bible and the Christ. Two lectures are devoted to preparation for preaching, which contain much of sense and value. "Let your preaching be expository and scriptural." "Seek to know the human life about you." He draws a sound distinction between "preparing a sermon" and "preparing to preach." He regards the manuscript in the pulpit as a "non-conductor," and doubts that any preacher can really *preach* more than once on a Sabbath. Most excellent are the ideas advanced on parish work.

These volumes illustrate the saying, "A good book is the best part of a good man."

Syracuse, N. Y.

HENRY D. B. MULFORD.

BRIEF REVIEWS.

Chautauqua Home Reading.

Some people seem prone to make light of the quality of work done by the Chautauqua circle for home read-

ing, and to place a low estimate upon its proposed method of aiding busy men and women to the acquisition of knowledge. It is to be suspected that these opinions have little basis more solid than simple prejudice, ignorance, or pride of opinion. If there are any better books on their subjects that can be comprehended by any but specialists, and if there are any better trained men engaged in making text-books for general use, we do not know where to find them. Before us are four of the volumes included in the "Home Reading Course for 1895-96," and they are all of high order and come from the pens of men well qualified to write. The first to come to hand is by Carroll D. Wright, LL.D., United States Commissioner of Labor, who discusses *The Industrial Evolution of the United States*. His book is packed with facts, illustrations, diagrams; and his pages look as attractive as any book that ever was placed in the hands of the "more favored" college student.—Harry Pratt Judson, LL.D., Head Professor of Political Science in the University of Chicago, writes upon *The Growth of the American Nation*. It is a volume of some three hundred and fifty pages, and it contains more about our country than ninety-nine per cent of college men know. The author seems to have been conscious that his space was limited, and hence he took as his motto *multum in parvo*, and yet he tells a clear story.—One cannot ask for a better guide in tracing *Some First Steps in Human Progress* than Professor Frederick Starr, of the University of Chicago. In the course of three hundred pages he opens up many interesting fields, and writes luminously upon his chosen specialty. We scarcely agree with him in all his positions, but his book is a valuable and useful one.—The fourth volume is by E. W. Scripture, Ph.D. (Leipzig), the director of the Psychological Laboratory in Yale University. *Thinking, Feeling, Doing* is a most attractive book, one that marks the immense progress made in methods of psychological study during the last quarter of a century. The pictures of apparatus remind one of the well-equipped physical laboratory, not of anything connected

with metaphysics, yet here are the latest appliances spread out for the observation and use of Chautauquans. Truly,

"There are more things in this world, Horatio,
Than are dreamed of in our philosophy."

(Meadville, Pa.: Flood & Vincent. \$1 each.)

A similar institution is known as "The Bible Students' Reading Guild," and it is operated in connection with the "American Institute of Sacred Literature," under the general guidance of Dr. William R. Harper, President of the University of Chicago. Courses of reading covering the year 1895-96 are laid out to include the history of the founding of the Christian Church. Appropriate books are indicated, and special books prepared for the use of members of the guild. The first of these little books or pamphlets is by Dr. William C. Morey, Professor of History in the University of Rochester, and treats of *Rome and the Provinces*. It is a highly interesting though brief treatment of three topics: How Rome governed the provinces; Roman jurisdiction in Palestine; and a Roman provincial trial. The present is a double number, and is to be followed by eight other pamphlets on allied topics. The collection will make a very respectable volume and one which will prove of great interest to many readers and students of the New Testament, whether they ally themselves to the guild or not. (University of Chicago Press. Double number, 20 cents.)

The Fourth Magian.

The Story of the Other Wise Man, such is the name given by Dr. Henry van Dyke to his dream, he calls it, of the quest for the new-born King, the Messiah, by Artaban, the fourth of the Magi. The story is simple, but the truth which it contains is profound, far deeper than few words can express. Artaban was late at the Magian's place of meeting, and was left behind on the march toward Bethlehem. He came late, only to find the child gone. He searched for

many years, anxious to lay his tribute at the feet of his Lord. One by one his treasures were wrung from him by the needs of suffering men, and at the last, when his sympathy for his distressed fellows had robbed him of the final gift, he lay down without the blessed sight, but with the more blessed assurance that "inasmuch as thou hast done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, thou hast done it unto me." Language, sentiment, and truth combine to make this one of the choice gems of our language. (Harpers.)

The Bible as Literature.

Too many people have an idea that God's revelation was handed down from heaven in complete form and all at once. They do not seem to regard it as a book like other books in any degree whatever, and they do not use and read it like any other book. While it is held in greater reverence than any other, it is actually treated with less respect. We take it up and read a chapter here and there almost at random, under the impression, apparently, that it will give up its treasures to the haphazard, casual, careless seeker as well as to the diligent student. Instead of reading it in long connected sections, so that we may get a grasp upon it in the breadth of its sweep, we are satisfied with the gleanings. This evil is largely avoided by the scheme of lessons indicated in the Prayer-Book, and the fact that an orderly reading of Scripture is there provided for is one of its strongest points. The further fact is also often lost to sight that the English Bible is one of the classics of English literature. Luther's translation gave shape and consistency to the German language, and our own has had a formative effect on our speech far wider and deeper than we are wont to imagine. With a view to recalling this fact, and of inducing English-speaking people to change somewhat their point of view, Mr. J. G. Frazer, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, has made a selection of *Passages of the Bible Chosen for their Literary Beauty and Interest*. The selections are good, and they serve their purpose

well. Read simply as literature, they are delightful, and with their sacred connections they become doubly valuable, teaching us of our double inheritance as regards our literary heritage and our inheritance of truth. (New York: Macmillan. Pp. xvi., 467.)

"The New Life in Christ."

Dr. Joseph Agar Beet is a man who for many years has devoted himself to the study of the New Testament Scriptures with all the appliances of modern scholarship. He has produced many works which have taken high rank among books of the time. His latest work is called *The New Life in Christ*, and it presents "a study in personal religion." Having recently published a work entitled "Through Christ to God," which was largely devoted to the discussion of questions of doctrine, he now makes practical use of the doctrinal basis in the erection thereon of the structure of Christian education and development. It is a most helpful treatment of the subject of inward spiritual experience and of practical life. His own principle and conviction he expresses thus: "Theology is useless unless it bears fruit in righteousness and peace and beneficence; and inward experience is fitful and uncertain unless it rests on reliable external evidence." The subjects treated are the ruin wrought in man by sin; the restoration wrought by the grace of God issuing in repentance, faith, justification, adoption, and assurance; the way of holiness, or the new life in its relations to God and man; the Divine and human in the Christian life, and the fuller revelation of God in the new life of the man that puts on Christ. The volume is most useful and suggestive, and it is somewhat in the line of recent volumes by Drs. Hovey and Stevens, only more systematic and detailed. The three will make a valuable addition to the "practical" section of the ministerial library. (Hunt & Eaton. \$1.50.)

The difference between a successful and an unsuccessful teacher may not, probably does not, consist in differences in absolute knowledge. Often the most

learned men are the poorest teachers, but where learning and aptness to teach are combined, there success comes most easily and readily. The difference lies in aptitude, and aptitude is to some degree a matter of education. It is to help to the acquisition of this special education in one particular line that a volume called *The Psychology of Number* has been prepared by James A. McLellan, LL.D., Principal of the Ontario School of Pedagogy, at Toronto, and Dr. John Dewey, Head Professor of Philosophy in the University of Chicago, as a contribution to the "International Education Series." To it the attention of all those who are engaged in giving instruction in mathematics is called. If one would work with success in any line, one must work in accord with nature, whether the same be physical or mental. The laws of matter are fixed and may not be transgressed with impunity, and the laws of mind are as certain, only they are hard to ascertain. The teacher has no more right to experiment upon the minds of his pupils than the physician has to experiment on the bodies of his patients for his own instruction. It is as criminal to maim the mind as it is to damage the body, only it can be done without fear of suit for damages. The moral obligation is the same, and it is obvious that the teacher should undergo as much training as is needed to equip him thoroughly for his task; hence the benefit of such books as these. Out of the present volume may be learned the laws that govern the child's mind in acquiring and developing its ideas of number, and knowing the nature of his subject better, the teacher may go on to better and higher results. (Appleton. \$1.50.)

"For who among men knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of the man, which is in him?" These words were involuntarily suggested by the reading of the pages of Mr. Edward W. Bok's *Successward*, "a young man's book for young men." The feeling of oneness of sympathy, equality of position, likeness of age, similarity of aspiration, and identity of aim enables the young man, who knows what is in young men, to

speak with a power and directness that is not granted to those that are older, whose life of activity and toil lies behind them. Undoubtedly wide experience is also a factor of importance, but it is also true that a man will listen to an equal where he will turn away from one who is not touched with a feeling of his own infirmity. This is an excellent book to put in the hands of a young man, and it may be left to teach its own lesson. (New York : Revell Co. \$1.00.)

One of the most delightful contributions to missionary literature in the English language is the volume of letters of Mrs. Paton, the wife of the "Apostle to the Hebrides." Another charming volume, more methodical and detailed in its character, has been added in *The Life of John Livingston Nevius, D.D.*, by his widow. In it she relates the experiences of that wonderful man, who for forty years devoted himself without reserve to the cause of Christ in China. It was a grand devotion, and it bore splendid fruit. Such lives as this and such success as this give sufficient answer to those who cast reproach upon the cause of missions, saying that aside from their philanthropic aspects they are simply failures. Here is the evidence of eye-witnesses and participants, predisposed in favor of their own cause, perhaps, but nevertheless truthful and competent. (New York : Revell Co. \$2.00.)

The story of the life of John Knox has been often told, but usually at very considerable length. A recent volume by G. Barnett Smith, entitled *John Knox and the Scottish Reformation*, contains the principal facts in very brief compass. It is illustrated very well, and the story is clearly told. The book is one that can be placed in the hands of young people, that they may learn what our liberties have cost in the past, and how great the debt is that we owe our intrepid ancestors beyond seas. (New York : Revell Co. 75 cents.)

The Herons, by Helen Shipton, is a strong story, well told, thoroughly sustained, and of great interest. It

is the tale of a disowned son and of his more favored brother, of the devotion of the latter to the interests of the former, and, of course, of the final restoration of the erring one to favor. There are many personages introduced and a great deal of clever portrayal of character. One's emotions vary as one reads, and sympathy is felt for this or the other of the characters as the case demands, but interest does not flag till the last page is reached and a happy ending realized. (Macmillan. \$1.00.)

SUBJECT INDEX TO THEOLOGICAL PERIODICALS.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS RECORD.

Af. M. E. R.	African M. E. Church Review. (Quarterly.)	Miss. R.	Missionary Review.
Bapt. Q.	Baptist Quarterly Review.	New Chr. Q.	New Christian Quarterly.
Bib. Sac.	Bibliotheca Sacra. (Quarterly.)	New W.	The New World. (Quarterly.)
Can. M. R.	Canadian Methodist Review. (Bi-monthly.)	Our D.	Our Day.
Chr. L.	Christian Literature.	Prot. Ep. R.	Protestant Episcopal Review.
Ex.	Expositor.	Pre. M.	Preacher's Magazine.
Ex. T.	Expository Times.	Presb. Q.	Presbyterian Quarterly.
Hom. R.	Homiletic Review.	Presb. Ref. R.	Presbyterian and Reformed Review. (Quarterly.)
Luth. C. R.	Lutheran Church Review.	Ref. Q.	Reformed Quarterly Review.
Luth. Q.	Lutheran Quarterly.	Sunday M.	Sunday Magazine.
Meth. R.	Methodist Review. (Bi-monthly.)	Think.	The Thinker.
Meth. R. So.	Methodist Review, South. (Quarterly.)	Treas.	The Treasury.
Min.	The Minister.	Yale R.	The Yale Review. (Quarterly.)
Miss. H.	Missionary Herald.		

Unless otherwise specified, all references are to the November number of periodicals.

- A. B. C. F. M.**, Annual survey of the work of the, 1894-95. (J. Smith) Miss. H.
- A. B. C. F. M.**: the next step. (J. Smith) Miss. H.
- Aorist** in the Greek Testament. (D. Brown) Ex. T.
- Archæology** vs. Old Testament criticism. (A. H. Sayce) Chr. L.
- Armstrong**, Lord, and Bamburgh. (D. Trelawney) Min.
- Art** and religion, Authority in. (H. M. Du Bose) Meth. R. So.
- Bacon**, Francis. (T. W. Hunt) Treas.
- Balaam** and his prophecy. (J. A. Seiss) Luth. C. R.
- Banqueting** House, In the. (M. G. Pearse) Pre. M.
- Beatitudes**, The. (W. F. Adeney) Ex.
- Beechers**, Father of the. (H. A. Glass) Sunday M.
- Belief**, Statement of. (P. S. Hulbert) Treas.
- Bible** work, Some present aspects of the. (T. H. Law) Meth. R. So.

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- Brazil** through an evangelist's eye. (D. G. Armstrong) Miss.R.
Buddhists, Shall we become. (H. M. King) Chr.L.
Bunyan, John, and the "Pilgrim's Progress." (K. M. Warren) SundayM.
Children, Moral and religious training of. (B. A. Hinsdale) New Chr.Q.
China, Reforms in. (G. Reid) Miss.R.
Church, Unity of the, in Apostolic Church. (T. M. Lindsay) Chr.L.
Church and church work, Laymen's criticism of. (R. F. Cutting) Hom.R.
Citizenship, American, Genius of. (P. J. Smith) Af.M.E.R.
Clergy, New. (H. R. Haweis) Chr.L.
Congregational National Council. Chr.L.
Congregational worship. (T. H. Pattison) Hom.R.
Consciousness and Christian faith. (F. C. Haddock) Meth.R.
Covenanters. (D. Paton) SundayM.
Creed, Presence of a, in the New Testament. (B. Whitefoord) Think.
Criticism, higher, Relation of, to the study of the Bible. (H. L. Willett) NewChr.Q.
Dead-line, Ministerial. (D. J. Williams) Hom.R.
Deuteronomy 34 : 1, Bearing of, upon the question of the authorship of Deuteronomy. (W. S. Watson) Bib.W.
Driver's Deuteronomy : use of the name of Moses. (G. G. Cameron) Ex.T.
Dying, Home of peace for the. (J. Stuart) SundayM.
East, the, Religious renaissance in. (W. R. Hunt) NewChr.Q.
Education, Deceptive. (D. J. Jordan) Af.M.E.R.
Education, Is higher, advantageous to the negro. (J. E. Carter) Af.M.E.R.
Emigration. (I. D. Barnett) Af.M.E.R.
Ethics, Scientific basis of. (F. H. Wines) Hom.R.
Expository preaching. (A. G. Voigt) Luth.C.R.
Fasting as a religious exercise, Is, enjoined by the Bible. (J. E. Godbey) Meth.R.So.
From the diary of a valet : story. (M. Pemberton) Min.
Frontiers, Importance of. (W. G. Puddefoot) Miss.R.
Hamitic race, Ancient glory of the. (G. W. Brent) Af.M.E.R.
Harnack, Adolf. (D. Macfadyen) Chr.L.
Hebrew and Babylonian poetry. (W. H. Ward) Hom.R.
Heno-Christianity, Study in. (H. R. Reynolds) Ex.
Higher criticism, What, is not. (W. J. Beecher) Bib.W.
Homer to-day. (A. B. Hyde) Meth.R.
Hovenden, Thomas. (J. S. Durham) Af.M.E.R.
Institutional church. (B. A. Jenkins) NewChr.Q.
Israel as a factor in history. (G. H. Schodde) Treas.
Jackson, Sheldon, pioneer missionary to Alaska. (O. E. Boyd) Miss.R.
Jeremiah : the man and his message. (J. Stalker) Ex.
Jews in Persia. (S. G. Wilson) Miss.R.
Job, Book of, Structure of the. (G. A. Simcox) Ex.
Jonah, Sign of, (C. Harris ; J. W. Dawson) Ex.T.
Kidd's "Social Evolution." (J. E. Davies) Think.
Korea, North, Work of the Spirit in. (S. A. Moffatt) Miss.R.

- Lambeth** proposals, Christian union and the. (D. G. Porter) New Chr.Q.
- Lanier**, Sidney, Poetry of. (M. Callaway, Jr.) Meth.R.So.
- Leo XIII.**, Reactionary phases in the pontificate of. (H. C. Sheldon) Meth.R.
- Liberalism** and Roman Catholicism. (B. Herford) Chr.L.
- Longfellow**, Henry Wadsworth. (S. E. Tanner) Af.M.E.R.
- Lutheran** adjustment to American environment. (G. W. Sandt) Luth.C.R.
- Lutheran** Church in the city *versus* in the country. (C. L. Fry) Luth.C.R.
- Malachi**, Theology of. (J. T. Marshall) Ex.T.
- Manasseh** or Moses? (R. Sinker) Think.
- Marvin**, Enoch Mather. (W. H. Milburn) Meth.R.So.
- Methodism**, Making of. (J. J. Tigert) Meth.R.So.
- Methodist** unity. (D. Atkins) Meth.R.So.
- Ministry**, evangelistic, Need for an. (W. F. Mallalieu) Meth.R.
- Ministry**, Requirements of the, of to-day. (D. T. McDaniel) Af.M.E.R.
- Missions** as seen at the Parliament of Religions. (H. R. Bender) Meth.R.
- Moses**, Manasseh or. (R. Sinker) Think.
- Name**, Question of. (E. S. Ames) NewChr.Q.
- Negro**, Is higher education advantageous to the. (J. E. Carter) Af.M.E.R.
- Onesimus**; or the gospel of human rights. (W. W. Hopkins) New Chr.Q.
- Our** relation to other religious bodies. (W. H. Martin) NewChr.Q.
- Poetry**, Hebrew and Babylonian. (W. H. Ward) Hom.R.
- Preachers**, Advice to. (J. Edwards) Pre.M.
- Preaching**, expository, Power and value of. (J. Lindsay) Think.
- Preaching** for the times. (D. S. Gregory) Hom.R.
- Protestant** nation, Is this a. (R. M. Patterson) Treas.
- Punishments**: past and present. (J. Scott) Min.
- Punjaub**, In the. (J. H. Wick) SundayM.
- Purgatories** of Buddhism and Taoism. (J. Legge) Think.
- Reformation**, Place of the, in modern thought. (J. Lindsay) Chr.L.
- Religion**, Single-minded. (W. B. Carpenter) SundayM.
- Religious** forces of the United States. (H. K. Carroll) Chr.L.
- Riggs**, Mary. (A. R. Buckland) SundayM.
- Robertson**, Frederick W. (J. S. Bassett) Meth.R.So.
- Roman Catholic** Church. (C. H. Small) Treas.
- Roman Catholicism**, Liberalism and. (B. Herford) Chr.L.
- Romanes'** return to religious faith. (T. E. Schmauk) Luth.C.R.
- Sabbath-school**, Ministry and the. (J. A. Worden) Hom.R.
- Sanday**, William. (W. H. Day) Bib.W.
- Seven** heavens. (R. H. Charles) Ex.T.
- Sinaitic** "Judgments," Some curious features of the. (H. Hayman) Think.
- Smith**, John, at home. (A. W. Stewart) SundayM.
- Social** problems, Pastor and. (T. D. Witherspoon) Hom.R.
- Social** reform, Church and. (W. Gladden) Chr.L.
- Sociology**, Study in. (E. D. McCreary) Meth.R.
- South Seas**, What John Williams saw in the. (A. T. Pierson) Miss.R.

Sunday liquor selling. (A. P. Doyle) Treas.
Tender mercies of the good : story. (C. R. Coleridge) Sunday M.
Thanksgiving sermon. (H. M. Field) Pre. M.
Thanksgiving thoughts. (H. A. Ketchum) Pre. M.
Theology, Biblical : its history and its mission. (G. H. Gilbert) Bib. W.
Theology, Progress in. (R. C. Hobbs) Meth. R.
Tree without roots. (C. C. Starbuck) Miss. R.
Virgin, Blessed, in the Talmud. (J. R. Harris) Ex.
Virgins, Ten, Parable of the. (W. D. Ridley) Ex.
Why callest thou me good. (W. Bacon) Bib. W.
Womanhood, Christian. (F. W. Farrar) Chr. L.
World, Mechanical conception of the. (W. Harrison) Meth. R.

CONTENTS OF RELIGIOUS PERIODICALS.

The African Methodist Episcopal Church Review.

Philadelphia, October, 1895.

Genius of American citizenship.
 Emigration.
 Is higher education advantageous to the negro?
 Requirements of the ministry of to-day.
 Thomas Hovenden.
 Ancient glory of the Hamitic race.
 Deceptive education.
 Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

Christian Literature.

New York, November, 1895.

Place of the Reformation in modern thought.
 Archæology *vs.* Old Testament criticism.
 Adolf Harnack.
 New clergy.
 Unity of the Church in apostolic times.
 Liberalism and Roman Catholicism.
 Shall we become Buddhists?
 Church and social reform.
 Christian womanhood.
 Religious forces of the United States.

The Biblical World.

Chicago, November, 1895.

Rev. William Sanday.
 Why callest thou me good?
 What higher criticism is not.
 Bearing of Deut. 34 : 1 upon the question of the authorship of Deuteronomy.
 Biblical theology : its history and its mission. II.

The Expositor.

London, November, 1895.

Study in Heno-Christianity.
 Parable of the Ten Virgins.
 Blessed Virgin in the Talmud.
 Jeremiah : the man and his message.
 Beatitudes.
 Structure of the Book of Job.

Expository Times.

Edinburgh, November, 1895.

Seven heavens.
 Dr. Driver's Deuteronomy : use of the name of Moses.
 Sign of Jonah.
 Theology of Malachi.
 Aorist in the Greek Testament.

The Homiletic Review.

New York, November, 1895.

Preaching for the times.
Scientific basis of ethics.
Pastor and social problems.
Congregational worship.
Laymen's criticism of the Church
and Church work.
Hebrew and Babylonian poetry.
Minister and the Sabbath-school.
Ministerial dead-line.

The Lutheran Church Review.

Philadelphia, October, 1895.

Balaam and his prophecy.
Romanes' return to religious
faith.
Expository preaching.
Lutheran Church in the city *ver-*
sus in the country.
Lutheran adjustment to Ameri-
can environment.

Methodist Review.

New York, November-December, 1895.

Need for an evangelistic ministry.
Study in sociology.
Reactionary phases in the pontifi-
cate of Leo XIII.
Homer to-day.
Missions as seen at the Parlia-
ment of Religions.
Progress in theology.
Consciousness and Christian
faith.
Mechanical conception of the
world.

The Methodist Review.

Nashville, November-December, 1895.

Poetry of Sidney Lanier.
Methodist unity.
Frederick W. Robertson.
Bishop Enoch Mather Marvin.
Authority in art and religion.
Is fasting as a religious exercise
enjoined by the Bible?

Some present aspects of the Bible
work.

Making of Methodism: studies
in the genesis of institutions.
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The Minister.

London, November, 1895.

From the diary of a valet.
Lord Armstrong and Bamburgh.
Our caravan.
Punishments: past and present.
After hours.
Queen Guiniviere.
During play-time.
Adventures various.

The Missionary Herald.

Boston, November, 1895.

The next step.
Annual survey of the work of the
American Board, 1894-95.
Letters from the missions.

The Missionary Review.

New York, November, 1895.

What John Williams saw in the
South Seas.
Importance of frontiers.
Brazil through an evangelist's
eye.
Reforms in China.
Tree without roots.
Rev. Sheldon Jackson, pioneer
missionary to Alaska.
Work of the Spirit in North
Korea.
Jews in Persia.

**The New Christian Quar-
terly.**

St. Louis, October, 1895.

Moral and religious training of
children.
Question of name.
Relation of higher criticism to the
study of the Bible.
Our relation to other religious
bodies.

Religious renaissance in the East.
Christian union and the Lambeth
proposals.
Institutional church.
Onesimus: or the gospel of hu-
man rights.

Preacher's Magazine.

New York, November, 1895.

Thanksgiving sermon.
In the banqueting house.
Advice to preachers.
Thanksgiving thoughts.

The Sunday Magazine.

London, October, 1895.

Tender mercies of the good.
Dr. John Smith at home.
My first caged bird.
John Bunyan and the "Pilgrim's
Progress."
Mary Riggs.
Home of peace for the dying.
Father of the Beechers.
In the Punjaub.
The Covenanters.
Single-minded religion.

The Thinker.

New York, November, 1895.

Some curious features of the
Sinaitic "Judgments."
Manasseh or Moses?
Power and value of expository
preaching.
Purgatories of Buddhism and
Taoism.
Presence of a creed in the New
Testament.
Kidd's "Social Evolution."

The Treasury.

New York, November, 1895.

McAll Mission.
Is this a Protestant nation?
Statement of belief.
Roman Catholic Church.
Sunday liquor selling.
Francis Bacon.
Israel as a factor in history.

MAGAZINES.

THE contents of THE CENTURY
for December are: "The Pas-
sion-Play at Vorder-Thiersee,"
Annie S. Peck; "Sir George
Tressady," Mrs. Humphry Ward;
"Life of Napoleon Bonaparte,"
William M. Sloane; "A Midsum-
mer Night," Benjamin Kidd;
"Shakspeare," Henry Jerome
Stockard; "Captain Eli's Best
Ear," Frank R. Stockton; "Tom
Grogan," F. Hopkinson Smith;
"Appeals to Lincoln's Clem-
ency," Leslie J. Perry; "Hump-
erdinck's 'Hansel und Gretel,'"
Bernhard Stavenhagen; "The
Grasshopper and the Ant," J. G.
Vibert; "The Brushwood Boy,"
Rudyard Kipling; "Tissot's
'Life of Christ,'" Edith Coues;
"One Way Out," Jacob A. Riis;
"Glamour," Edith M. Thomas.

DECEMBER HARPER'S contains:
"By Land and Sea," Howard
Pyle; "On Snow shoes to the
Barren Grounds. Twenty-six
Hundred Miles after Musk-Oxen
and Wood-Bison," W. Whitney;
"A Previous Engagement," W.
D. Howells; "From the Hebrid
Isles," Fiona Macleod; "An In-
terview with Miss Marlenspuyk,"
Brander Matthews; "The Ger-
man Struggle for Liberty," Poul-
tney Bigelow; "Briseis," William
Black; "The Paris of South
America," R. H. Davis; "Hul-
dah the Prophetess," Kate D.
Wiggin; "The Last Sonnet of
Prinzivalle di Cembino," T.
Wharton; "Personal Recollections
of Joan of Arc," Louis de
Conte; "The Shoemaker of Fou-
gères," K. S. Macquoid.

THERE will be the usual abun-
dance of good stories in the De-
cember number of McClure's
MAGAZINE, including a Christmas
story, one of Anthony Hope's
ever-welcome Zenda stories, and
a humorous story of African ex-

ploration and London stage life by Robert Barr.

LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE for December contains: "The Old Silver Trail," Mary E. Stickney; "English Mediæval Life," Alvan F. Sanborn; "Where the Clues Met," Harry Stillwell Edwards; "Gunning for Gobblers," William Cecil Elam; "Three Fates," Virna Woods; "Orchids," Lawrence Irwell; "The End of Captain Ferguson," Beulah Marie Dix; "Japanese Sword-Lore," Lyman Horace Weeks; "Athletic Sports of Ancient Days," Thomas James de la Hunt; "Bennett's Partner," James Knapp Reeve; "Meats," Calvin Dill Wilson; "Opposing View-Points," Frederic M. Bird.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE for 1896. The announcement of a reduction in the price of this famous eclectic from *eight* dollars to *six* dollars a year will prove of more than usual interest to lovers of choice literature. Founded in 1844, it will soon enter its fifty-third year of a continuous and successful career seldom equalled.

This standard weekly is the oldest, as it is the best, concentration of choice periodical literature printed in this country. Those who desire a thorough compendium of all that is admirable and noteworthy in the literary world will be spared the trouble of wading through the sea of reviews and magazines published abroad; for they will find the essence of all compacted and concentrated here.

To those whose means are limited it must meet with especial favor, for it offers them what could not otherwise be obtained except by a large outlay. Intelligent readers who want to save time and money will find it invaluable.

The prospectus, printed in another column should be examined

by all in selecting their periodicals for the new year. For the amount and quality of the reading furnished, the new price makes the LIVING AGE the cheapest as well as the best literary weekly in existence. Reduced clubbing rates with other periodicals offer still greater inducements, and to new subscribers remitting now for the year 1896, the intervening numbers of 1895 will be sent gratis.

DECEMBER SCRIBNER'S contains: "Laurens Alma-Tadema, R. A.," Cosmo Monkhouse; "The Amazing Marriage," George Meredith; "A White Blot," Henry van Dyke; "Wild Beasts as They Live," Captain C. J. Melliss, Ninth Regiment, Bombay Infantry. With reproductions of the etchings of Evert van Muyden; "On a Forgotten By-Way," A. E. Watrous; "Wood-Engravers," A. Lepere; "Starlight," George De Clyver Curtis; "The Colonel's 'Nigger-Dog,'" Joel Chandler Harris; "The Kinetoscope of Time," Brander Matthews; "The Staying Power of Sir Rohan," Frank R. Stockton; "The River Syndicate," Charles E. Carryl; "The Heroism of Landers," Arthur Stanwood Pier.

NOTES.

THE S. P. C. K. is issuing a new work by Professor A. H. Sayce on "Patriarchal Palestine," which includes the results of the most recent researches as to the conditions of Palestine during the time of the Patriarchs. The society has also ready the second part of Bishop Ellicott's "Foundations of Sacred Study" (being the bishop's recent charge), and a new thing in the way of Christmas gift-books in the shape of "The English-speaking World," a volume containing close upon

two hundred pictures selected with the object of furnishing an idea of the spread of the English race.

It is said that Mr. Gladstone is at present engaged in editing all the letters which he has received and thought worthy of preservation. They number more than two hundred thousand.

A VERY important work is announced by the Putnams, "St. Paul, the Traveller and the Roman Citizen," by W. M. Ramsay, LL.D., whose work on "The Christian Church and the Early Roman Empire," issued about three years ago, was of the very highest value.

A NEW book by Dr. Alexander Whyte, entitled "Launcelot Andrewes and his Private Devotions: A Biography, a Transcript,

and an Interpretation," will be published shortly by Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Dr. Whyte proposes to use the volume as the Devotional Text-Book for his classes this winter.—*The British Weekly*.

PROFESSOR W. R. HARKER, President of the University of Chicago, says that Professor A. B. Davidson's recent article in *The Expositor* on "False Prophets" is the most important contribution to the subject of prophecy within the last decade.

A NEW series of fifty-two sermons by the late Mr. Spurgeon has just been published in Germany. The German reviewers recall the fact that the first to make known Spurgeon's sermons to the German people was Dr. Krapf, who translated some of them in the year 1857.

CHRONICLE, OBITUARY, AND CALENDAR.

COMPILED BY PROFESSOR GEORGE W. GILMORE, A.M.

CHRONICLE.

(Closes on the 15th.)

Sept. 21-27.—Centenary of the *London Missionary Society*, in London.

Oct. 1-6.—General Conference of the *Free Baptist Churches*, at Winnebago City, Minn.

Oct. 7-9.—Fifth Triennial *American Church Sunday-School Institute*, in Minneapolis and St. Paul.

Oct. 9-11.—Thirty-third Conference of *Christians of all Denominations*, at Clifton, England.

Oct. 13-18.—General Conference of the *Evangelical Association*, in Cleveland, O.

Oct. 16-17.—Annual Meeting of the *Unitarian Sunday-School Society*, in Providence, R. I.

Oct. 17-23.—Twenty-second Annual Convention of the *Woman's Christian Temperance Union*, in Baltimore.

Oct. 18-25.—National "*Christian*" Conventions at Dallas, Texas; 18-19, Women's Board of Missions; 19, Board of Managers, Foreign Missionary Society, annual meeting; 21-22, Board of Foreign Missions; 22, Board of Home Missions; 23-25, Other Boards of the Church.

Oct. 20.—Anniversary of the *Moravian Society for Propagat-*

- ing the Gospel*, at Bethlehem, Pa.
- Oct. 21-24.—National Conference of Unitarian and other Christian Churches, in Washington, D. C.
- Oct. 22-25.—General Convention of Universalists, at Meriden, Conn.
- Oct. 22-24.—Forty-ninth Annual Meeting of the American Missionary Association, in Detroit, Mich.
- Oct. 25.—Session of the Synod of the Associate Reformed Church of the South, in Troy, S. C.
- Oct. 30.—Autumn Meeting of the Methodist Episcopal Board of Bishops, in Toledo, O.
- Oct. 30-31.—National Convention of the Luther Leagues, in Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Nov. 5-8.—Annual Meeting of the Non-partisan National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, at Oberlin, O.
- Nov. 7-10.—Sixteenth Annual Convention of the American Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance, at Lancaster, Pa.
- Nov. 7-14.—Thirteenth Biennial Conference of the International Women's and Young Women's Christian Associations, in Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Ninth Annual Convention of Christian Workers in the United States and Canada, in New Haven, Conn.
- Nov. 12-14.—Thirteenth Baptist Congress, in Providence, R. I.
- Nov. 14.—Meeting of the General Missionary Committee of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in Denver, Col.
- The General Convention of the Episcopal Church has established the missionary diocese of Alaska, and
- The Rev. Peter Trimble Rowe, of Sault Ste. Marie, has been elected Bishop of Alaska.

EDUCATIONAL—COLLEGES.

- President William Henry Scott, of the Ohio State University, has resigned the presidency and accepted the chair of Philosophy.
- The Rev. G. W. White has been elected President of the University of Southern California.

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES.

- The Rev. Professor Whitehouse has been appointed principal of Chestnut College, and the Rev. H. T. Andrews, B.A., has been appointed theological professor in his place.
- The Rev. W. O. Burrows, principal of Leeds Clergy School, has been made principal of Wells Theological College.
- Dr. Newton has been reappointed dean of the Biblical Department of the Kwansei Gakuin, the college of the Methodist Episcopalians in Japan.
- The Rev. John Davis has accepted the professorship of ecclesiastical history in the Theological Seminary, Tokio, Japan.
- The Rev. E. Winter, D.D., has become professor of Theology

in the Holland, Mich., Theological Seminary.

The Rev. J. D. Irons, D.D., has been chosen to the chair of Hebrew in the United Presbyterians' Theological Seminary at Xenia, O.

The Rev. Professor J. Packard, dean of the Protestant Episcopal Seminary of Virginia, has retired. The Rev. Professor Cornelius Walker succeeds him as dean.

OBITUARY.

Briggs, Rev. George W. (Unitarian), *D.D.* (Brown University), in Plymouth, Mass., September 10, aged 85. Dr. Briggs was born in Little Compton, R. I.; entered Brown University, graduating in 1825 when only fifteen years of age; it was his intention to study medicine, but a sermon by Dr. Channing changed his purpose, and he entered Harvard Divinity School, graduating in 1834; he was ordained to the charge of the church at Fall River, 1834; removed after a few years to the care of the First Church of Plymouth; was settled over the First Church of Salem, 1850; removed to the pastorate of the Third Church in Cambridgeport, 1869, holding the charge till his death. The last five years of his life found him feeble and doing no active work, but his people would not consent to his dismissal.

Clemence, Rev. Clement (English Congregationalist), *D.D.* (Grenville University), in London, England, October 12, aged 67. He was a graduate of Western College, Plymouth, 1857, taking also the degree of B.A. from London University; was settled as Congregationalist pastor at Teignmouth, 1857; removed to charge of Castlegate Church, Nottingham, 1860; became pastor of the Wren Road congregation, Camberwell Green, London, 1875; retired from active work, 1889, receiving at

that time a remarkable testimonial from his last charge. He was president of the Midland County Association in 1874, also of the Notts County Union; and was elected chairman of the London Congregational Union, 1882. He has published "To the Light from the Cross," an Exposition of Isaiah liii.; "The Scripture Doctrine of the Holy Spirit," and "Future Punishment."

Durnford, Rt. Rev. Richard (Anglican), *D.D.* (Oxford, 1870), at Basle, October 14, aged 93. He prepared for college at Eton under the celebrated Dr. Keate; was graduated from Magdalen College, Oxford, B.A., 1826, M.A., 1829; was ordained deacon, 1830, priest, 1831; became assistant-master at Eton, and was also tutor to Lord Suffield, travelling on the continent; was appointed rector of St. Leonard's, Middleton, 1835, holding that position till 1870; was appointed archdeacon of Manchester, 1867, and canon-residentiary, 1868; was nominated by Mr. Gladstone to the see of Chichester, 1870, and consecrated the same year. His eminence was gained by a great devotion to educational and philanthropic movements. He was once admonished by his bishop because of a sermon in which he spoke of children as "innocents," this being held contrary to the Ninth Article. His

catholicity of feeling also brought him into trouble through a public reception of Archbishop Lycurgus of the Greek Church in Syra and Tenos.

Holland, Rev. George W. (Evangelical Lutheran), *Ph.D.* (Roanoke College, 1884), *D.D.* (University of South Carolina, 1888), in Newberry, S. C., September 30, aged 57. He was graduated from Roanoke College, 1857; taught as tutor in his *alma mater*, 1857-58; was graduated from Gettysburg Theological Seminary, 1860, having taken his middle year in Union Theological Seminary, New York; took the Rockingham charge in Virginia, 1860; enlisted in the Confederate service, 1861, but lost an arm the same year; taught school, 1861-63; became principal of the Preparatory Department, Roanoke College, 1863; again took the Rockingham charge, 1867; removed to Pomaria, 1873; was elected professor of Ancient Languages in Newberry College, 1874, and president of the institution, 1876. His services to the cause of education have been of great value to the South.

Kendrick, Rev. Asahel Clark (Baptist), *D.D.* (Union College, 1845), *L.L.D.* (Lewisburg University, Pa., 1870), in Rochester, N. Y., October 21, aged 86. Dr. Kendrick was a graduate of Hamilton College, Class of '31; became tutor in Hamilton College, 1831, and professor of Greek and Latin, 1832; after the departments of Greek and Latin were separated from each other, he remained as professor of Greek; became professor of Greek in the newly founded University of Rochester, 1850;

spent 1852-53 in Europe perfecting his knowledge of modern languages; for awhile he carried on in connection with his University work instruction in Hebrew and New Testament Greek in the Rochester Theological Seminary; subsequently he resigned his chair in the University, and became professor of New Testament Interpretation and Exegesis in the seminary, retaining a connection with the latter after his retirement as professor emeritus. He was a member of the American Company of Revisers of the New Testament, and his influence there was very great. His literary activity was surprising, comprising text-books in Greek, the editing of Olshausen's Commentary, the translation of Hebrews in Lange's Commentary, the revision of Meyer on John, biographies of Emily C. Judson and President Anderson, and a work on "The Moral Conflict of Humanity."

Maples, Rt. Rev. Chauncy (Anglican), in Lake Nyassa, Africa, September 12, aged 43. He was prepared for college at the famous Charterhouse, entered University College, Oxford, graduating B.A., 1874, and M.A., 1879; was ordained deacon, 1875, and priest, 1876; became curate of St. Mary Magdalene and St. George's, Oxford, 1875; offered for missionary service in Africa, and was accepted, 1876; served first in Zanzibar, afterward in the college at Kiungani; was sent to Masasi, a new station, 1878; removed to Newala, 1883, doing grand and judicious pioneer work; was sent to Nyassaland, 1886, taking up quarters on the Island of Likoma, Lake Nyassa, and being appointed archdeacon the same year; he was con-

secrated bishop of Likoma, June 29, of the present year, so that he held his bishopric less than three months.

Morris, Rev. John Gottlieb (Lutheran), *D.D.* (Pennsylvania College, 1839), *L.L.D.* (the same, 1875), in Lutherville, Md., October 10, aged 92. Dr. Morris prepared for college at the York County Academy, Pa., entered Princeton College, taking there the sophomore and junior years, and then graduated at Dickinson College, Carlisle, in the Class of '23; studied theology privately under the Rev. S. S. Schmucker, then took a year in Princeton Theological Seminary in 1825-26; studied Hebrew and German at Nazareth, Pa.; became pastor of the First English Lutheran Church, Baltimore, 1827; librarian of the Peabody Institute, Baltimore, 1860; was stated supply of the Third Lutheran Church, same city, 1861-67; he was for a long period professor of natural history in the University of Maryland, since 1834 lecturer on zoology in Pennsylvania College, and since 1874 non-resident professor of pulpit eloquence, and lecturer on the relations of science and revelation in Gettysburg Theological Seminary. Dr. Morris had served as vice-president and librarian, also as president, of the Maryland Historical Society, and as president of the Maryland Bible Society. He was president of the General Synod in 1843 and 1883, and presided at the Lutheran Diet held in Philadelphia, 1877. His reputation as a naturalist was international. He contributed papers to the Smithsonian Institution, and the list of his published works includes titles in science, biography, devotional literature, com-

parative symbolics, history, and dogmatics.

Palmer, Rev. Edwin (Anglican), *D.D.* (Oxford, 1878), in Oxford, England, October 16, aged 71. Dr. Palmer was graduated from Balliol College, Oxford, B.A., 1845, M.A., 1850, having gained in his course the Hertford and Ireland scholarships, the chancellor's prize for Latin verse, 1844, and for Latin essay, 1847; he was fellow in Balliol, 1845-67; philological lecturer, 1858-66; and tutor, 1866-70; was Corpus professor of the Latin language and literature in the University, 1870-78; he was ordained deacon, 1854, and priest, 1868; occupied the post of select preacher to the University of Oxford, 1865-66, 1873-74; became Archdeacon of Oxford and canon of Christ Church, 1878. He was a member of the New Testament Company of Revisers, and edited the "Greek Testament with the Revisers' Readings," Oxford, 1881.

Upham, Francis William (layman), *L.L.D.* (Union College, N.Y., 1868), in Boston, October 17, aged 78. He was prepared for college at Phillips Exeter, and graduated from Bowdoin College, Me., 1837; was admitted to the bar of Massachusetts, 1844; subsequently gave up the practice of law and devoted himself to the study of the Bible in the original and to the publication of works upon it; he was Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in Rutgers Female College, New York City, 1867-70. His works include "The Debate between the Church and Science," "The Wise Men," "The Star of Our Lord," "Thoughts on the Holy Gospels: how they came to be in Manner and Form as they are."

Van Zandt, Rev. Benjamin (Reformed [Dutch]), *D.D.*, in Catskill, October 14, aged 87. He was a graduate of Union College, 1833, and of Auburn Theological Seminary, 1836; became pastor of the Reformed Church, Union Village, 1836; removed to Kinderhook, 1842; accepted pastorate at Nyack, 1852; organized there an institution for the education of young ladies, was elected its principal, and resigned his charge; removed to the West, taking charge of Presbyterian congregations in Illinois and Wisconsin; returned East as pastor of the Reformed Churches of Canajoharie and Sprakers, 1862; removed in obedience to a call from the Reformed Church of Leeds, 1869; resigned this his last charge, 1878; was stated clerk of the Classis of Greene, 1874-90.

Conway, Rev. Samuel (English Congregationalist), in London, September 29, aged 61.

Cooke, Rev. William Henry (Presbyterian), *D.D.*, in Wheeling, W. Va., October 15, aged 56.

Fennell, Rev. A. J. (Presbyterian), *D.D.*, at Glens Falls, N. Y., aged 80.

Gordon, Rev. William (Methodist Episcopal), in Worcester, Mass., October 23, aged 85. He

was admitted to the Conference in 1834.

Gray, Rev. William (Anglican), in Hampstead, England, September 13, aged 67. Mr. Gray was for many years secretary to the Church Missionary Society.

Jackson, Rev. W. Howard (English Congregationalist), at Bournemouth, September 24, aged 75.

Jewell, Rev. Joel (Presbyterian), in Troy, Pa., September 14, aged 93.

Lauderdale, Rev. B. W. (Disciple of Christ), *D.D.*, in Bailey, Tenn., October 15.

Miller, Rev. W. G. (Methodist Episcopal, South), *D.D.*, in Memphis, Tenn., August 20, aged 70.

Russell, Rev. S. L. (Cumberland Presbyterian), *D.D.*, in Gaylesville, Ala., October 7, aged 66.

Smith, Rev. Jeremiah Finch (Anglican), *M.A.*, *F.S.A.*, Prebendary of Lichfield Cathedral, in Lichfield, September 15, aged 80.

Stone, Rev. Thomas Treadwell (Congregationalist), *D.D.*, in Bolton, Mass., November 13, aged 95. Dr. Stone was the oldest living graduate of Bowdoin College, Class of '20.

Walker, Rev. O. T. (Baptist), *D.D.*, at Westerly, R. I., September 9, aged 50.

CALENDAR.

[The compiler will welcome notices of meetings of general importance and interest, provided such notices reach him before the 15th of the month prior to that in which the meetings are to take place. Exact dates and names of places, when and where the meetings are to be held, are desired.]

Dec. 17-19.—National Convention of non-partisan *Anti-Sa-*

loon Movements, in Washington, D. C.

Ten Epochs of Church History

Edited by
John Fulton
D.D., LL.D.

New York
The Christian Literature Co.

1895

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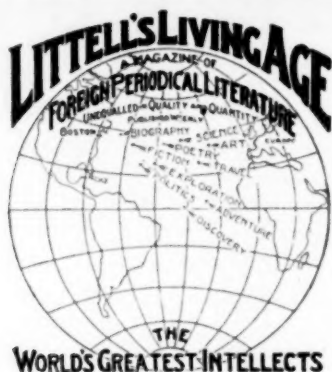
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Prospectus



The Episcopate
in America ::



Sketches, Biographical and Bibliographical, of the Bishops of the American Church, with a Preliminary Essay on the Historic Episcopate and Documentary Annals of the introduction of the Anglican line of succession into America

By

William Stevens Perry,

Bishop of Iowa,

and

Historiographer of the American Church



Subscription Edition



New York

The Christian Literature Co.

MDCCCXCV

Introduction



THE story of the introduction of the Anglican Episcopate into America is full of incident. The lives of the men who have filled the office of Bishops in the American Church are at once interesting and instructive. The contributions they have made to American literature, even in the midst of absorbing labors and constant cares, are both creditable and important. To tell the story of the struggle for the Episcopate ; to record briefly the lives of the Bishops of the United States ; and to furnish comprehensive lists of their literary works, is the object of this work. It is proposed to clothe the dry skeleton of the dates and facts of the careers of the American prelates with such incidents and remarks as shall afford to the reader an understanding of their characters, and the circumstances moulding and influencing their lives. This will be attempted in the spirit of historical impartiality. The effort will be made to supply the means for correctly estimating both the man and the measures marking his official career. We offer our work as a carefully considered and prepared contribution to American ecclesiastical biography. The book will, we believe, fill a place in our literature not yet occupied. This volume will give the results of many years' study.

Besides the biographical sketches of the nearly two hundred men who have respectively been called to the office and administration of a Bishop in the Church of God, we propose to give somewhat in detail the story of the efforts dating back to the early days of American discovery, and settlement made in this land and across the sea to secure for the Colonial Church the completion of the three orders of the ministry, and the privilege and power of self-reproduction and self-rule. To this we shall add the documents which give the suc-

cession of the American Bishops, connecting them through Aberdeen and Lambeth with the See of Canterbury, and back to the Apostles and to the Great Shepherd and Bishop of souls Himself. An essay on *The Historic Episcopate* will be added, embracing in simple statement and in the briefest possible compass the results of the latest scholarship respecting this question. The purpose of this paper is to give to those who are seeking a basis for Church unity an authoritative presentation of the Chicago-Lambeth propositions, and a defence of the position taken thereon. There will be papers on the Episcopal succession in the Roman Catholic Church in the United States and the Methodist "Superintendency" of America, of which Thomas Coke, LL.D., and Francis Asbury were the first appointments by the founder of Methodism, John Wesley.

A layman of culture and information, for years connected with another religious communion, on allying himself with the American Church stated to the writer that he took this step in consequence of the fact that in his historical study of the period dating from the coming of Christ in the flesh, he was constantly confronted on every page with notices of the existence of the Episcopate, and reference to those who filled this position as leaders and chief office bearers, not alone in the Church of God, but in the world itself. The intelligent layman will find in these pages much to convince him that the Episcopate in the United States, like that of other days and in other lands, has maintained the dignity of the order, and by labors, devotion and consecrated lives, has well and wisely ruled that portion of the Holy Catholic Church committed to its charge. Of these men of God it can truly be affirmed that their learning, their labors, their lives will be found to have been freely, fully given *pro salute hominum et pro ecclesia Dei*.

Bishop's House,
Davenport, Iowa.
Feast of the Ascension, A.D., 1895.



RIGHT REVEREND JOHN WILLIAMS, D. D., LL. D.

John Williams.

JOHN WILLIAMS (D.D., Union, 1847, Trinity and Columbia, 1849, Yale, 1883; LL.D., Hobart, N. Y., 1870), Fourth Bishop of Connecticut, Presiding Bishop of the American Church.

Among our American bishops John Williams stands preëminent for scholarship, intellect, and oratory. Born of distinguished Puritan stock at Deerfield, Mass., August 20, 1817, he studied at Harvard and graduated from Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., of which he was afterward tutor, professor, president, trustee, and chancellor. Ordered deacon September 2, 1838, and ordained priest September 26, 1841, in Christ Church, Middletown, Conn., by Bishop Brownell, where he assisted for one year, he became rector of St. George's Church, Schenectady, N. Y. He was elected president of Trinity College, ably filling that office till 1853, and raising the college to a hitherto unknown pitch of excellence. On the death of Bishop Brownell, in 1865, he succeeded him in the see, having been consecrated Assistant Bishop in St. John's, Hartford, October 29, 1851, by that prelate, assisted by Bishops Hopkins (Vermont), Eastburn (Massachusetts), Henshaw (Rhode Island), Chase (New Hampshire), Burgess (Maine), and De Lancey (Western New York). At the death of Bishop Lee, of Delaware, he became Presiding Bishop of the American Church. Bishop Williams has witnessed an unprecedented growth in his diocese, and has likewise founded the Berkely Divinity School at Middletown, Conn., whose head he is. He has also beheld the development of what is known as "Connecticut Churchmanship"—a school neither extreme nor partizan, reflecting only the traditions and teachings of Bishop Seabury. Bishop Williams holds a foremost rank among scholars in the church; he is a conservative theologian, clear and pronounced in his adhesion to catholic truth. He has impressed his personality and devotional spirit on all who have come under him, and as the head of a theological college has nobly maintained in its entirety the "faith once delivered to the saints." As a bishop he is an approved counselor and leader, an expert parliamentarian, and a true-hearted shepherd of souls. He revisited England in November, 1884, and as Bishop of Connecticut and Presiding Bishop of the American Church took

WORKS.—Translation of ancient hymns; "Thoughts on the Miracles;" "Studies on the English Reformation," Bishop Paddock Lectures, 1881; "The World's Witness to Jesus Christ," Bedell Lecture, 1881. EDITED.—Bishop Browne's work on the Thirty-nine Articles, with copious notes.



RIGHT REVEREND ARTHUR CLEVELAND COXE, D. D., LL. D.

[Specimen Illustration.]

Arthur Cleveland Coxe.

ARTHUR CLEVELAND COXE, Second Bishop of Western New York (D.D., St. James's College, Hagerstown, Md., 1856, University of Durham, England, 1888; S.T.D., Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., 1868; LL.D., Kenyon College, Gambier, O., 1865), poet, preacher, author, born at Mendham, N. J., May 10, 1818, was son of Dr. Samuel Hanson Coxe, a distinguished Presbyterian divine, and educated at the University of New York, 1838, and at the General Theological Seminary, 1841. Ordered deacon in St. Paul's Chapel, New York, June 27, 1841, he was ordained priest in St. John's, Hartford, Conn., whose rector he already was. In 1854 he accepted the rectorship of Grace Church, Baltimore, and in 1863 that of Calvary, New York, declining in 1856 the see of Texas. In college and seminary he produced many of his "Christian Ballads," which have won fame among all English-speaking peoples. His first European visit awoke the sympathy of English and American churchmen in the efforts for reform in portions of the Roman communion. The Anglo-Continental Society is largely an outgrowth of the publication at Oxford of Dr. Coxe's "Sympathies of the Continent." Ever prominent in his advocacy of the church's home and foreign mission work; a leading opponent of all changes in the text of our English Bible; a fearless advocate of social reform and Christian purity; a liturgiologist and critical patristic scholar; a polished writer, his advancement to the episcopate naturally followed. He was elected assistant to Bishop De Lancey, of Western New York, and was consecrated in Trinity Church, Geneva, N. Y., January 4, 1865, by the bishop of the diocese, assisted by Bishops Hopkins (Vermont), McCoskey (Michigan), Horatio Potter (New York), Odenheimer (New Jersey), and Talbot (Northwest Territory). Bishop De Lancey died April 5, 1865, and Bishop Coxe succeeded him. During his episcopate the

WORKS.—"Absolution and Confession," New Haven, 1850; "Christian Ballads," Philadelphia and Oxford, 1840; "Sermons on Doctrine and Duty," Philadelphia, 1855; "Thoughts on the Services," Baltimore, 1850, Philadelphia, 1860; "The Criterion," New York, 1866; "Moral Reforms," Buffalo, 1869; "Apollos on the Way of God," Buffalo, 1871, Oxford, 1874; "Lectures on Prophecy," Buffalo, 1871; "Covenant Prayers," Buffalo, 1875; "L'Épiscopat de l'Occident," Paris, 1874; "Elements of Ecclesiology," Hartford, 1874. TRANSLATIONS AND EDITED WORKS.—Bishop Wilberforce's "Eucharistica," New York, 1842; Hirscher's "The Actual State of the Church," Oxford, 1852; Laborde on the Immaculate Conception, Philadelphia, 1855; Meyrick's "Morals of Li-guori," Baltimore, 1856; "The Papacy," Abbé Guetteé, New York, 1866; Leighton's "Moderate Episcopacy," New York, 1868; "The Ante-Nicene Fathers," 8 vols., Buffalo and New York, 1884-87.

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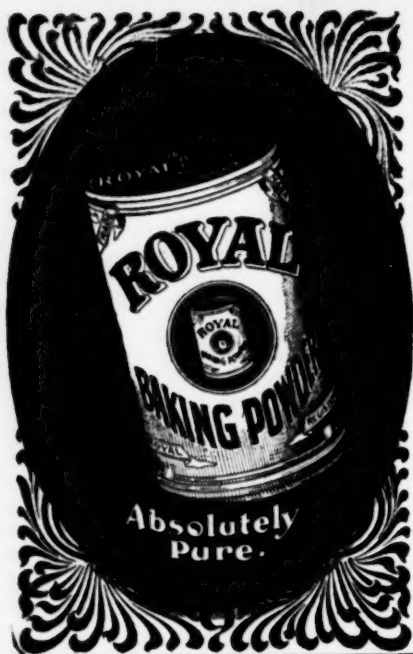
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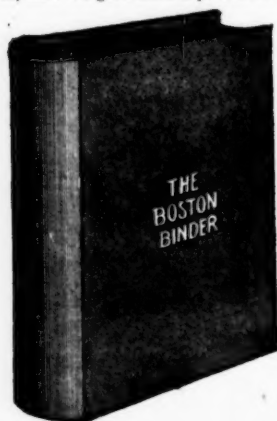
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